LE FAYOUM

Archéologie – Histoire – Religion

Actes du sixième colloque international
Montpellier, 26–28 octobre 2016

Édités par Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Ivan Guermeur,
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Préface

C'est en 1996 que, pour la première fois, la région du Fayoum fut l'objet exclusif d'un colloque intitulé « Archeologia e papiri nel Fayyum », réunissant à Syracuse archéologues et papyrologues. Cette manifestation peut être considérée comme précurseur de la série de colloques internationaux sur le Fayoum qui se tint régulièrement par la suite en différents lieux : Sommerhausen en 2003, Lecce en 2005, Freudenstadt en 2007, Bronnbach en 2011 et Leipzig en 2013. La sixième édition de cette série de colloques s'est tenue à Montpellier du 26 au 28 octobre 2016 ; elle a été l'occasion de fructueux échanges entre spécialistes égyptologues, papyrologues, coptologues et archéologues dont les travaux traitent de divers aspects de la vie administrative, religieuse et sociale dans le Fayoum. Les quinze interventions qui y ont été présentées ont couvert une longue période chronologique, depuis le Moyen Empire jusqu'aux premiers siècles de l'époque arabe.

Marco ZECCHI a traité des noms propres théophores et basilophores attestés dans le Fayoum aux Moyen et Nouvel Empires, en soulignant les changements observés dans la pratique onomastique d'une période à l'autre. L'acquisition par le Louvre d'un bloc appartenant au socle d'une statue de Sobek a donné l'occasion à Vincent RONDOT de publier cet objet provenant du célèbre « Labyrinthe », le temple d'Amenemhat III à Haouara.

Le colloque a fait, sans surprise, la part belle aux époques hellénistique et romaine. Plusieurs communications ont traité de l'administration et du fonctionnement juridique : Marie-Pierre CHAUFRAY a présenté le matériel démotique, grec et bilingue du fonds Jouguet provenant de Ghôran et de Magdôla, dont plusieurs registres de terres et des listes de contribuables datant du début de l'époque ptolémaïque. Les « ostraca d'emprisonnement », un dossier de textes grecs et démotiques de l'administration de la prison de Philadelphia décrit par Ursula Kaplony-Heckel en 1991, ont été étudiés à nouveaux frais pour une publication prochaine par Brian MUHS. Il en a donné une analyse terminologique permettant de préciser le fonctionnement du système juridique de détention de débiteurs, de garanties et de cautions. Nadine QUENOUILLE a étudié les attributions exactes de deux fonctions liées à l'administration de domaines au Fayoum à l'époque romaine : φροντιστής et προνοητής ; la communication issue du projet *Das mehrsprachige Online Wörterbuch zum Fachwortschatz der Verwaltungssprache des griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Ägypten* réalisé dans le cadre de l'université de Leipzig n'est pas publiée dans ces actes. Cary MARTIN a présenté les textes juridiques et administratifs provenant des fouilles de Tebtynis conservés à Copenhague et dont seule une petite partie est déjà publiée, tandis que Kim RYHOLT a donné un aperçu de l'ensemble des papyrus mis au jour au cours des fouilles conduites par la Mission Franco-italienne de Tebtynis depuis 1988 et actuellement en cours d'édition.

D'autres aspects de la vie quotidienne ont également été abordés : dans sa nouvelle étude du *P.Schulübung*, Luigi PRADA a non seulement établi l'origine fayoumique et non thébaine du document, mais il a aussi montré qu'il s'agissait plus vraisemblablement d'un manuel scolaire qu'une copie d'élève et il en a tiré des conclusions sur les méthodes

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éducatives dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Les éléments relatifs aux crédits et aux garanties présentés par les habitants de Soknopaiou Nèsos dans des documents démotiques, grecs et bilingues ont servi à Benjamin SIPPEL de fondement pour une recherche sur les structures sociales et les réseaux de confiance établis par les familles de prêtres.

Le site de Soknopaiou Nèsos a également fait l'objet d'autres conférences : Maren SCHENTULEIT a étudié la signification de l'appellation « prêtresse de la énième phylè » utilisée par des membres féminins des familles sacerdotales du village dans les sources grecques. Elle en a conclu qu'il s'agit plus d'un marqueur de statut social qu'un indice permettant d'établir l'existence d'un clergé féminin actif dans ce temple. Sous le titre provocateur « Soknopaiou Nesos Disneyland ? », Andrea JÖRDENS s'est interrogée sur l'impact économique et social des nombreuses fêtes religieuses organisées dans ce temple situé aux confins du désert, lesquelles attiraient des foules de pèlerins/touristes et qui contribuaient de manière significative aux revenus des habitants du village.

Cornelia RÖMER a présenté les derniers résultats de son *survey* de la *meris* de Themistos, dont la découverte d'une structure qui s'est avérée être le gymnase de Philotéris – découverte retentissante qui a reçu un écho considérable dans la presse internationale ; son volume *The Fayoum Survey Project. The Themistou Meris. Vol. A, The Archaeological and Papyrological Surveys. With Contributions by I. Klose and P. Kopp*, Collectanea Hellenistica 8, Leyde, 2018, venant de paraître, sa communication n'a pas été incluse dans ces actes. Dominic RATHBONE n'a malheureusement pas pu participer au colloque et y présenter son étude du phénomène d'agglomérations de villages dans la méris de Polémon.

Trois conférences ont abordé la période byzantine et le Haut Moyen-Âge arabe. Le site monastique de Naqlun était au cœur de celles des membres de l'équipe polonaise qui étudie ce terrain depuis de nombreuses années : Włodzimierz GODLEWSKI a présenté les résultat des dernières fouilles, tandis que Tomasz DERDA et Joanna WEGNER ont mis en relation les éléments historiques connus de l'évolution du monastère aux Ve–VIIe siècles avec les données archéologiques récentes. Pour conclure, Esther GAREL a abordé les problèmes de la dialectologie copte fayoumique au début de l'époque arabe à partir de textes documentaires conservés à la bibliothèque nationale de Vienne.

Les organisateurs remercient pour leur soutien financier l'équipe « Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne », composante de l'UMR 5140 « Archéologie des Sociétés Méditerranéennes » (CNRS, Université Paul-Valéry-Montpellier 3, Ministère de la Culture), les LabEx ARCHIMEDE (ANR-11-LABX-0032-01) de Montpellier et LaScArBx (ANR-10-LABX-52) de Bordeaux ainsi que Mme Ghislaine Gibello, déléguée régionale du CNRS Languedoc-Roussillon qui a mis à notre disposition gracieusement les locaux où se sont déroulées les conférences.

Marie-Pierre CHAUFRAY – Ivan GUERMEUR

Sandra LIPPERT – Vincent RONDOT

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Maren SCHENTULEIT
Benjamin SIPPEL
Joanna WEGNER
Marco ZECCHI

ainsi que des étudiants et doctorants de l'équipe « Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne ».



Les participants au colloque devant le Musée Henri Prades à Lattes, 27/10/2016.

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Époque pharaonique

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Un bloc du Labyrinthe d'Amenemhat III à Haouara récemment entré dans les collections françaises : Louvre E 33167

Vincent RONDOT

Le 2 octobre 2014, le musée du Louvre faisait l'acquisition d'un monument qui est entré dans les collections du département des Antiquités égyptiennes sous le numéro d'inventaire E 33167 et sous le vocable : *Élément statuaire au nom du pharaon Amenemhat III. Égypte, Fayoum, Haouara. Moyen-Empire, XII^e^ dynastie, règne d'Amenemhat III (1843–1798 av. J.-C.), calcaire dur (H. 45,1 × L. 43,5 × P. 40 cm)*[1] (photo 1, p. 13).

Ce bloc n'est pas un inconnu, tant s'en faut, puisqu'il a été découvert au cours des fouilles de Petrie à Haouara et publié par une rapide description et une photographie en 1912 : « Two large blocks of hard white limestone were the bases of statues. One of them names Amenemhat III as beloved of Horus in Shedti, with a title partly broken away. »[2]. Il était, depuis, la propriété du *Seabury-Western Theological Seminary* de Evanston dans l'Illinois (États-Unis), acquis entre les années 1907 et 1910 par Olaf Tofften, *Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature* pour le compte de la *Hibbard Egyptian Library* jusqu'à ce que, 100 ans plus tard, l'institution le mette en vente chez Christie's New York, le 5 décembre 2012[3].

1 RONDOT, Vincent, "Un fragment du célèbre Labyrinthe qui pour Hérodote surpassait les pyramides", *Grande Galerie. Le journal du Louvre* n° 31, mars/avril/mai 2015, p. 15. Je remercie ici tous ceux qui ont contribué à la préparation de cet article : au département, Sophie Duberson pour la restauration, Christian Décamps pour les photographies, Nathalie Couton-Perche pour les dessins et fac-similés, Julien Siesse pour les textes, Audrey Viger pour l'iconographie ; Sandrine Pagès-Camagna et Yvan Coquinot, au C2RMF, pour leurs examens de la couleur et de la pierre respectivement. Thierry De Putter, à Bruxelles, pour la pierre lui aussi ; au CNRS, enfin, Luc Gabolde, Ivan Guermeur et Sandra Lippert (équipe Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne, UMR 5140, Université Paul-Valéry) et Marie-Pierre Chaufray (Ausonius, Bordeaux), pour leur aide, leur soutien et leur patience.

2 PETRIE, William M. Fl., WAINWRIGHT, Gerald, et MACKAY, Ernest J. H., *The Labyrinth*, *Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*, Londres, 1912, p. 32 et pl. XXVIII. En dehors d'une description rapide insistant sur l'épaisseur du remblai d'éclats calcaires laissés par les chauffourniers lors de la destruction du Labyrinthe, nous n'apprenons que peu de choses à la lecture de PETRIE, William M. Fl., *Ten Years Digging in Egypt 1881–1891*, Londres, 1892, chap. 7 « Hawara », en part. p. 91–92. La correspondance publiée de l'archéologue ne mentionne pas le Labyrinthe, DOWER, Margaret, *Letters from the Desert. The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie*, Oxford, 2004.

3 Cat. Christie's New York, du 5 décembre 2012, *Lot 115/Sale 2605*. On trouvera une description du système de mécénat mis en place par Petrie pour financer ses fouilles, mécénat qui explique la dispersion de ses trouvailles dans de nombreuses collections, dans BAGH, Tine, *Finds from W. M. F. Petrie's excavations in Egypt in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 13, Copenhague, 2011, p. 7–23.

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Depuis sa découverte et sa première publication, les citations le concernant sont somme toute assez nombreuses, précisant progressivement l'établissement du texte et les caractéristiques du monument lui-même. Cette étude se propose de revenir sur ces deux points et l'on commencera par un rappel des citations antérieures avant d'en venir à notre proposition d'établissement du texte puis à un examen archéologique qu'ont favorisé la restauration du monument et les expertises du C2RMF.

En 1934, le Porter et Moss utilise la publication de Petrie en enregistrant « Two statue-bases of Amenemhet III »[4] ; en 1957, Gardiner établit le parallèle entre l'épithète *sṯn-ḥꜣt* attestée deux fois dans les *Hymnes à Sobek* du p.Ramesseum et notre bloc[5] ; il faut ensuite attendre 1992, pour que Cl. Obsomer mentionne « Deux blocs de calcaire dotés d'inscriptions, qui devaient être selon Petrie des bases de statues : le premier bloc porte une inscription où le nom d'intronisation d'Amenemhat III est accompagné de celui d''Horus qui est dans Chédit' »[6] ; en 2000, Uphill enregistre d'après Petrie un « Large bloc of hard white limestone originally a statue base with inscription in incised relief in front (…) Right hand panel contains '… Amenemhat, given life, beloved of Horus in Shedet' etc »[7] ; en 2002, le *LGG* prend en compte notre monument à travers l'épithète *sṯn-ḥꜣt Der mit bekröntem Haupt*[8] ; I. Blom-Böer, en 2006, donne un croquis de la face avant du bloc qu'elle décrit comme « Statuenbasis », un établissement, une translittération et une traduction du texte présenté comme complet (« [Der Gute Gott], Nimaatre, beschenkt mit Leben, geliebt von Herheriibschedet, der gekommen ist zu [Sobekschedeti], dem Gekrönten, der in Krokodilopolis ist. »)[9]. Elle propose par ailleurs une hypothèse sur l'aspect statuaire du monument sur laquelle je reviendrai ci-dessous. Également en 2006, on trouve mention du bloc « Part of a pedestal inscribed on one of its sides » accompagné du texte hiéroglyphique en trois lignes dans le répertoire de M. Zecchi sur les inscriptions du Fayoum[10] et ensuite en 2010 dans son ouvrage sur Sobek, dans lequel il reprend cette fois l'établissement du texte et la traduction de I. Blom-Böer : « Petrie also unearthed two blocks of white limestone, originally two statues bases, with inscriptions. The first one (doc. 26) has a text in three columns: '[The beautiful god] Ny-maat-ra, given life, beloved of Horus who resides in Shedet, has come to [Sobek of Shedet ?], with crowned head, who is in Shedet' (…) In this period, the epithet *sṯn-ḥꜣt*, 'with crowned head', 'exalted of front', seems to be a characteristic of Sobek-Horus in the Fayyum, since it occurs again in the

4 PM IV, 101.

5 GARDINER, Alan, « Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum papyrus », *RdE* 11, 1957, p. 52, n. 11; Id., *The Ramesseum Papyri*, Oxford, 1955, pl. XXI, col. 140–141.

6 OBSOMER, Claude, « Hérodote, Strabon et le mystère du Labyrinthe », dans *Amosiadès, Mélanges offerts au professeur C. Vandersleyen par ses anciens étudiants*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992, p. 265, n° 8.

7 UPHILL, Eric P., *Pharaoh's Gateway to Eternity. The Hawara Labyrinth of King Amenemhat III*, Londres, 2000, p. 31, H.41.

8 LEITZ, Christian (dir.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (*LGG*) VI. OLA 115, Leuven, 2002, p. 709–710, [**4**].

9 BLOM-BÖER, Ingrid, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara. Das Labyrinth. Bestandsaufnahme und Auswertung der Architektur- und Inventarfragmente*. EgUit 20, Leyde, 2006, p. 186–187.

10 ZECCHI, Marco, *Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from the Fayyum* II, Imola, 2006, p. 18, n° 13.

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Fig. 1 : Bloc Louvre E 33167. Fac-similé des six faces et coupe. Dessin de Nathalie Couton-Perche.

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hymns to the god of the *pRamesseum* VI (doc. 85) ». Enfin, dernière en date de cette bibliographie, la notice du catalogue de Christie's New York du 5 décembre 2012 décrit un « Egyptian indurated limestone stele fragment » et ajoute une proposition de traduction du texte : « [… the Beautiful God] Ny-maat-re, given life !… Horus who resides in Shedet, […he ?] has come, … Beloved of the foremost [god ??]/[god ??] of the beginning who is in Shedet ».

Avec le bloc, c'est donc du fameux Labyrinthe d'Égypte dont il est question[11]. Ainsi que Petrie l'avait compris dès son dégagement, il ne s'agit pas d'un simple bloc de paroi, mais bien d'un élément de la base d'une ronde-bosse – statue selon Petrie – constituée à l'origine de plusieurs blocs maçonnés. Le prouvent tant le placard portant l'inscription en trois colonnes que le lit d'attente soigneusement ravalé et poli ainsi que l'arrachement de la sculpture en élévation qui en était solidaire comme d'autres détails architectoniques dont il sera question plus bas (fig. 1 ci-dessus).

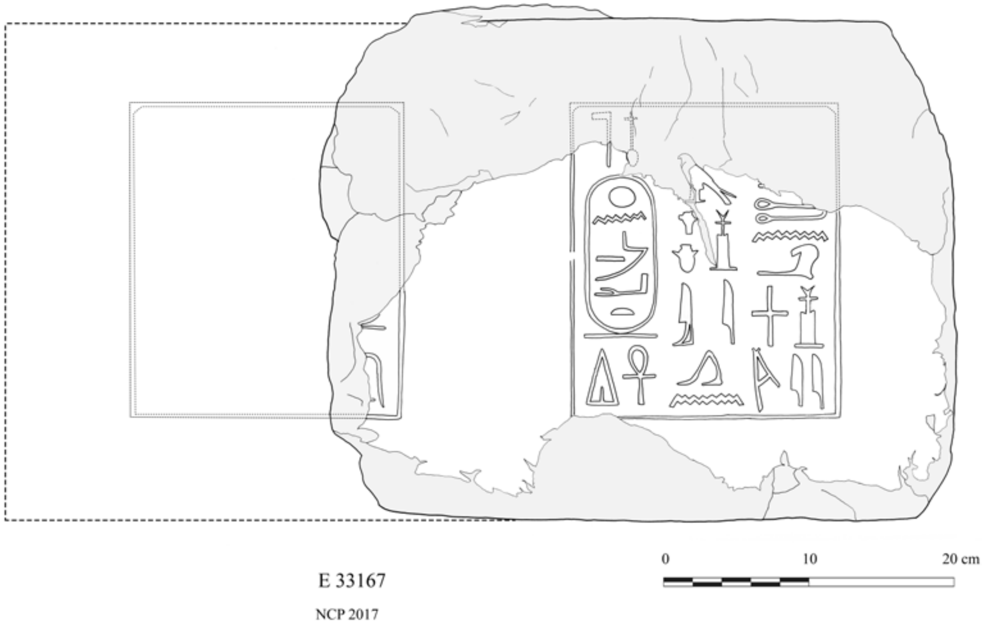


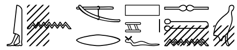
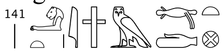
Fig. 2 : Bloc Louvre E 33167. Fac-similé de la façade et restitutions. Dessin de Nathalie *Couton-Perche.*

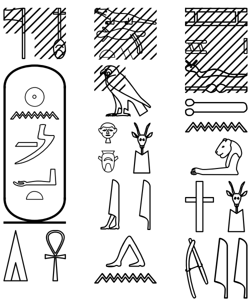
« Les placards » à vrai dire, puisque sur la gauche est visible l'angle inférieur droit d'un deuxième rectangle qui conserve les restes de la partie inférieure d'un cartouche ainsi que

11 La question de l'identification et de la localisation exacte de ce monument a été abondamment débattue. On verra particulièrement OBSOMER, dans *Amosiadès*, et sa réfutation par UPHILL, *Pharaoh's Gateway to Eternity*, p. 93–95.

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du cadrat de clausule d'une autre inscription en trois colonnes : *ḏt* « éternellement ». Ces textes sont sculptés dans le creux et peints sinon remplis de façon assez peu soignée d'une couleur verte virant au brun[12] (fig. 2 ci-dessus).

Venons-en maintenant à l'inscription principale. Les manques à la partie supérieure des trois colonnes, peu étendus, n'empêchent pas une restitution du texte complet et notre bloc, nous venons de le voir, est bien référencé dans le *LGG*, à travers la citation de la deuxième épithète : *sṯn-ḥꜣt Der mit bekröntem Haupt*[13]. Les autres références à la même rubrique et singulièrement le parallèle du *p.Ramesseum* VI, 140–141  141  permettent de tirer l'écheveau et de compléter sans difficulté la première épithète en *Ỉỉ n mr.f Der zu seinem Kanal kommt*[14].



Ainsi le texte se laisse-t-il reconstituer intégralement et traduire :

1. *N[ṯr-nfr] Ny-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ dỉ-ꜥnh*
2. *[Sbk-šdty-Ḥ]r ḥry-ỉb šdt Ỉỉ n*
3. *[mr.f s]ṯn-ḥꜣt ỉmy šdt mry*

« Le d[ieu-parfait] Nymaâtrê doué-de-vie, aimé de [Sobek-le Chédite-H]orus qui réside à Chédet, Celui qui vient à [son canal, Celui à] la tête couronnée qui est dans Chédet ».

Une incertitude a demeuré un temps sur la restitution du début de la colonne médiane. Sandra Lippert me conforte dans la proposition de restituer l'épithète *šdty* entre *Sbk* et *Ḥr*, comme sur le fragment figurant sur la même planche 28 de Petrie que notre bloc et aujourd'hui Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 1411[15], sur l'argument avéré qu'il s'agit de la forme habituelle du théonyme au point qu'une séquence sans *šdty* n'est pas attestée[16].

S'agissant des deux épithètes qui forment le corps et le principal intérêt de ce court texte, les parallèles du *pRamesseum* VI donnent bien le mot *sṯn* déterminé par deux fois avec la couronne blanche. Il n'est pas acquis pour autant que la traduction de la deuxième épithète (démarquée ici de la traduction de l'allemand) soit la seule possible. A la suite de Gardiner (*Does this epithet refer to a physical feature, or is it purely honorific description ?*)[17], en effet, on pourrait proposer de retenir un sens naturaliste décrivant, à travers ce qui serait alors une seule et même épithète, l'animal crocodile regagnant précipitamment l'eau en se dressant sur ses pattes : « Celui qui va à son canal la tête haute ». L'étude menée par S. Aufrère montre combien le crocodile – plus que tout autre

12 Sandrine Pagès-Camagna (C2RMF), après un premier examen au spectromètre à fluorescence X, m'indique qu'il s'agit d'une couleur verte au cuivre (et non d'un bleu ayant viré au vert). La couleur brune pourrait s'expliquer par l'altération d'un liant de mauvaise qualité ou utilisé en trop grande quantité dans un pigment mal préparé.

13 *LGG* VI. OLA 115, Leuven, 2002, p. 709–710, [**4**].

14 *LGG* I. OLA 110, p. 120b.

15 BAGH, *Finds from W. M. F. Petrie's excavations in Egypt*, p. 106, fig. 3.12.

16 *LGG* V. OLA 114, p. 275c ; voir également *LGG* VI. OLA 115, p. 264c–265a.

17 GARDINER, *RdE* 11, 1957, p. 52, n. 11.

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animal peut-être – a été observé et combien ces observations éthologiques ont été transcrites telles quelles en un corpus d'épiclèses et d'épithètes ainsi que via une symbolisation exprimée notamment à travers la grammaire des couronnes[18]. L'épithète *sṯn-ḥꜣt* nous rappelle par ailleurs que la couronne-*ṯnỉ* – deux plumes aux extrémités recourbées flanquées de deux cobras encadrant le disque solaire et placées sur les cornes de béliers horizontales – est l'une de celles les plus fréquemment portées par Sobek[19], et l'on pourra citer ici la définition qu'en donne Jean-Claude Grenier lorsqu'elle est portée cette fois par Antinoos[20] : « Cette couronne se rencontre pour indiquer l'aspect 'émergeant' de celui qui la porte. Dieux 'émergeant' au sens propre du terme comme (parmi d'autres) le démiurge Ptah-Ta-tenen image de la butte primordiale surgie des flots, l'Osiris de Busiris patron des terres fermes de la zone marécageuse du centre du Delta, le dieu Sobek dont le crocodile affleure à la surface du Nil. Dieux 'émergeant' au sens figuré de 'distingué, élevé au-dessus de la norme' par un aspect particulier comme le panthée Toutou, le phénix Benou. Hommes aussi qui, dès leur naissance, ont été 'distingués' (*ṯni*) de leurs semblables en tant qu'êtres prédestinés à être au-dessus de l'humain (…) ».

Envisageons maintenant la question de la forme qu'avait pu avoir la ronde-bosse portée par cette base ; dans l'hypothèse de Petrie selon laquelle il s'agirait d'une statue, les considérations présentées ci-dessus sur la nature de la couronne qui coiffait le dieu pourraient nous engager à restituer mentalement la figure d'un crocodile allongé et coiffé de la couronne-*ṯnỉ* ou encore de la couronne blanche, à l'instar des nombreux petits bronzes de Basse-Époque qui attestent largement cette iconographie. La question posée, quoi qu'il en soit, dépend des observations qui peuvent être faites sur les détails archéologiques et architectoniques conservés.

La caractéristique la plus immédiatement parlante est le lit d'attente soigneusement poli et conservant les arrachements de l'élévation qui était solidaire de notre bloc (photo 2, p. 14). On comprendrait alors que les placards sculptés sur la face avant de la base constituaient autant de « cartels » désignant les statues placées au-dessus. Les éléments conservés sont toutefois insuffisants pour permettre une proposition avérée. C'est sur la partie gauche du lit d'attente que sont présents les restes les plus proéminents et l'on voudrait proposer de reconnaître dans la silhouette qu'ils paraissent dessiner l'emplacement d'une patte animale plutôt que d'un pied humain, cela alors que les questions d'échelle restent impossibles à résoudre. À faire cette hypothèse, on pense en effet au bloc resté *in*

18 AUFRÈRE, Sydney, « Dans les marécages et sur les buttes. Le crocodile du Nil, la peur, le destin et le châtiment dans l'Égypte ancienne », *ENIM* 4, 2011, p. 51–79 (cité par BAGH, Tine, « Sobek Crowned », dans R. Nyord, K. Ryholt (éds.), *Lotus and Laurel. Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen*. CNIP 39, Copenhague, 2015, p. 1, n. 2). En n. 63, sur « toutes les caractéristiques animales glanées dans ce contexte religieux », est cité LEITZ, Christian, « Der Lobpreis des Krokodils. Drei Sobekhymnen aus Kom Ombo », dans H. Knuf, Chr. Leitz, D. von Recklinghausen (éds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. OLA 194, Leuven, 2010, p. 291–355, et spécialement p. 349–354.

19 Ainsi de la fameuse statue en calcite de Sobek et Aménophis III trouvée à el-Mahamid, musée de Louqsor J.155, BAGH, dans R. Nyord, K. Ryholt (éds.), *Lotus and Laurel*, p. 5, fig. 2.

20 GRENIER, Jean-Claude, *L'Osiris Antinoos*. CENIM 1, Montpellier, 2008, p. 6 (**a**).

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situ à Haouara et qui conserve les petites statues de deux crocodiles parallèles[21] mais également – et même si elle n'a pas Haouara mais Crocodilopolis pour provenance – à l'étonnant groupe composite publié par Labib Habachi et qui associe la statue agenouillée d'un pharaon au *némès*, mains sur les genoux et paumes vers le haut, d'un hippopotame aux pattes invisibles et tête baissée, d'un babouin assis mains sur les genoux, d'un crocodile enfin, allongé sur un socle à corniche à gorge[22].

Restituant lors de la découverte des *bases of statues*, c'est Petrie lui-même qui nous engage à privilégier cette explication. Cependant, le monument Caire CG 20699 – dont la publication par Länge et Schäffer indique *Herkunft wohl Faijúm*, alors qu'il figure dans l'ouvrage de Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* – qui présente en façade un alignement de placards à trois colonnes de texte comparables au nôtre, alors que le lit d'attente est occupé par les restes d'une table d'offrandes[23], pourrait fournir une autre possibilité d'explication aux caractéristiques présentées par notre bloc (fig. 3 ci-dessous).

Les dimensions (H. 15 × L. 41 cm) ne sont pas les mêmes, certes, mais les inscriptions qui disent Amenemhat III aimé d'une forme différente de Sobek rendent l'hypothèse à la fois plausible et tentante : plutôt qu'à la base d'une statue, notre bloc aurait pu appartenir à une table d'offrande de taille monumentale avec, en façade, les noms des divinités bénéficiaires inscrites dans des placards alignés côte à côte. Il faudrait alors reconnaître dans les restes les plus proéminents sur la partie gauche du lit d'attente l'arrachement du bec de la table d'offrande, formalisation lui-même du pain-*ta* dans son moule posé sur une natte.

Base pour une statue ou – plus probablement ? – pour une table d'offrande, il est quoi qu'il en soit avéré que notre bloc appartenait à une maçonnerie et nombreux sont les détails architectoniques qui le démontrent : le côté droit couvert de traces de ciseau, le biseau le long du côté inférieur horizontal de ce même côté droit, la mortaise pour un tenon enfin et surtout, creusé dans la longueur du lit de pose (fig. 1, ci-dessus).

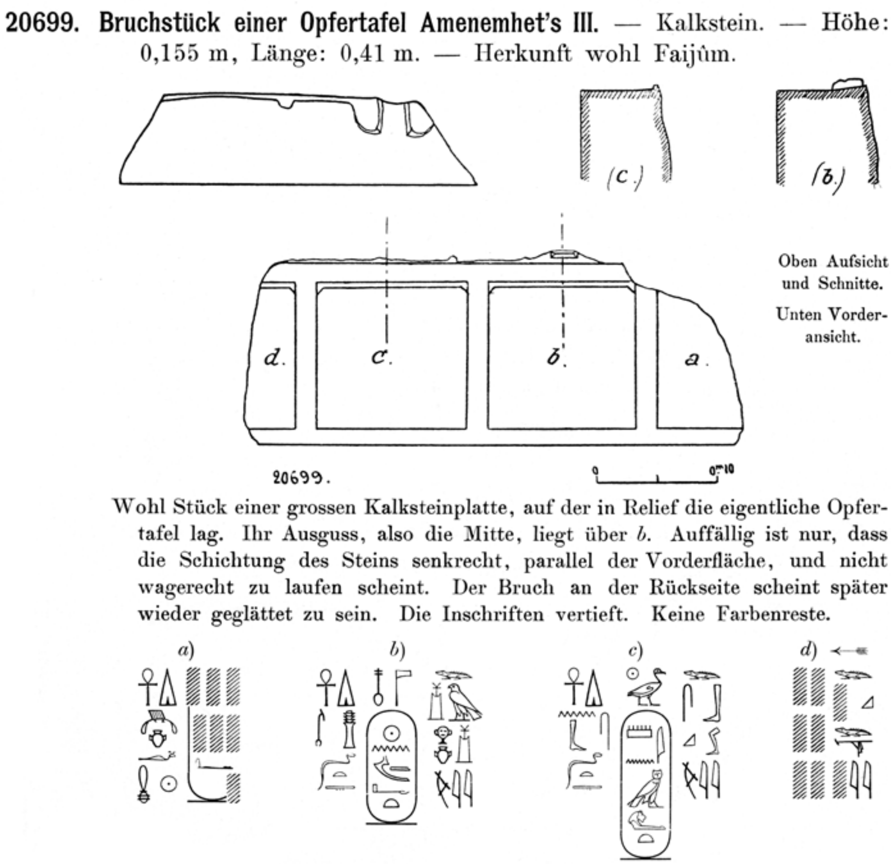
Le côté droit couvert de traces de ciseau suffit à démontrer qu'un autre bloc prenait place à côté du nôtre. Les autres côtés ne sont pas conservés et l'on ne peut affirmer qu'il en était de même à gauche et à l'arrière, même si c'est la solution la plus probable et ne serait-ce que parce que le placard de gauche a besoin d'une longueur de façade complémentaire, qu'elle ait été assurée par la poursuite de notre bloc ou par l'adjonction d'un autre bloc sur la gauche.

21 OBSOMER, dans *Amosiadès*, p. 265, fig. 11 ; UPHILL, *Pharaoh's Gateway to Eternity*, pl. 13; FREED, Rita, « Another look at the sculpture of Amenemhat III », *RdE* 53, 2002, p. 121 et pl. XXb.

22 HABACHI, Labib, « A Strange Monument of the Ptolemaic Period from Crocodilopolis », *JEA* 41, 1955, p. 106–111, pl. XXI. Je prends le risque, sans avoir vu l'objet, de mettre en doute la datation proposée par L. Habachi vers *the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, when Egyptian art was still keeping to its old traditions*.

23 PETRIE, William, M. Fl., *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, Londres, 1889, pl. VI.5a ; LANGE, Hans O., SCHÄFER, Heinrich, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* II. CGC, Berlin, 1908, p. 327 ; YOYOTTE, Jean, « Le Soukhos de la Maréotide et d'autres cultes régionaux du dieu-crocodile d'après les cylindres du Moyen Empire », *BIFAO* 56, 1957, p. 92–93, **B** (en 1°, on supprimera l'un des deux crocodiles dans l'établissement du texte hiéroglyphique) ; ZECCHI, Marco, *Sobek of Shedet. The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period*. Studi sull'antico Egitto 2, Todi, 2010, p. 159, doc. 31.

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20699. Bruchstück einer Opfertafel Amenemhet's III. — Kalkstein. — Höhe: 0,155 m, Länge: 0,41 m. — Herkunft wohl Faijûm.

Oben Aufsicht und Schnitte. Unten Vorderansicht.

20699.

Wohl Stück einer grossen Kalksteinplatte, auf der in Relief die eigentliche Opfertafel lag. Ihr Ausguss, also die Mitte, liegt über *b*. Auffällig ist nur, dass die Schichtung des Steins senkrecht, parallel der Vorderfläche, und nicht wagerecht zu laufen scheint. Der Bruch an der Rückseite scheint später wieder geglättet zu sein. Die Inschriften vertieft. Keine Farbenreste.

a) *b*) *c*) *d*)

Fig. 3: Extrait de LANGE / SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs* II. CGC, Berlin, 1908, p. 327.

Dans ce que l'on sait de l'appareillage des blocs de parement, le biseau observable à l'angle horizontal inférieur du côté droit paraît avoir pour seule explication la présence, à droite et à l'assise inférieure, d'un bloc dont le lit d'attente était plus élevé de la hauteur du biseau, dans un appareil dit « en assises brisées »[24].

Le lit de pose présente un détail constructif remarquable : un logement pour tenon creusé parallèlement à la façade (photo 3, p. 14). Sur la gauche, l'extrémité détruite conserve cependant les deux retours en angle du petit côté et l'on comprend que cette mortaise a gardé peu ou prou sa taille complète d'origine (27 × 5,5 cm au fond de l'encoche) et qu'elle était donc placée *grosso modo* au centre du lit d'attente et – peut-on

24 ARNOLD, Dieter, *The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, Londres–New York, 2003, p. 137–138 « Masonry » ; MONNIER, Franck, *Vocabulaire d'architecture égyptienne*, Bruxelles, 2013, p. 27–47 et part. p. 41, chapitres « Éléments de maçonnerie » et « Maçonnerie ».

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penser – à équidistance des quatre côtés. Est également posée la question de la mise en œuvre proprement dite d'un tel dispositif (les restes de mortier encore visibles sur les parois intérieures de l'encoche fournissent des informations sur la technique de scellement). Ce détail, pour le moment trop isolé pour être immédiatement parlant, pourrait être l'indice d'une particularité constructive voire architecturale du Labyrinthe.

Un autre point demande à être envisagé ici : celui de la qualité particulière du calcaire dans lequel est taillé notre bloc ; Petrie, le premier, avait parlé de *hard white limestone* et d'autres ont insisté sur la matière remarquable de la pierre[25]. Au moment où le bloc était restauré par Sophie Duberson, il a été examiné par Yvan Coquinot, géologue au C2RMF, ainsi que par Thierry De Putter, du service *Geodynamics and Mineral Ressources* au *Royal Museum for Central Africa* de Tervuren. Le premier a proposé d'y reconnaître un calcaire de type « sublithographique » et envisagé qu'il puisse s'agir du « calcaire de Ouanina » (Athribis de Haute-Égypte). Le second a pu procéder à un prélèvement et m'a fourni les informations que je reproduis ici : « Le matériau du socle E 33167 est un calcaire beige, microgrenu, très cohérent et dur, présentant une cassure conchoïdale nette (arrêtes coupantes). Une analyse géochimique a été réalisée sur ce matériau : elle indique un calcaire d'une grande pureté (56,4% de CaO), très appauvri en silice, alumine et fer ainsi qu'en éléments traces (strontium, baryum, terres rares). D'un point de vue géologique, cette pureté contraste avec la signature géochimique des autres calcaires égyptiens, marins et généralement riches en silice, magnésium et strontium. La typologie, l'utilisation et l'origine des calcaires indurés égyptiens sont encore mal connues. Il existe au moins deux grandes familles de calcaires indurés : une pierre grenue de couleur claire, presque blanche, qui a été régulièrement employée dans la sculpture colossale de la 18[e] dynastie (notamment sous Amenhotep III) et qui pourrait provenir de la région de Zarnikh, proche d'Esna. La pierre du socle E 33167 est, quant à elle, très finement grenue et beige, d'aspect marmoréen. Il est possible que ce matériau provienne de Moyenne-Égypte où il pourrait être associé à la calcite (« albâtre égyptien ») de la région d'Hatnoub. Si elle demande confirmation, l'hypothèse d'une origine nordique du matériau du socle d'Hawara semble *a priori* plausible : d'une part Hawara est relativement proche d'Hatnoub ; d'autre part, il existe des similitudes géochimiques nettes entre le calcaire de E 33167 et les calcaires du Nord de l'Égypte (spectres de terres rares, teneur en strontium). L'utilisation d'un tel calcaire dur semble relativement rare dans la statuaire du Moyen Empire, mais la région d'Hawara a fourni d'autres objets réalisés dans une pierre apparemment similaire à celle du socle du Louvre (par exemple le torse de Sobek, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1912.605A). »[26].

Les collections du département des Antiquités égyptiennes sont riches d'une statue en quartzite rouge au nom de la reine Neferousobek (E 27135), fille d'Amenemhat III et

25 *E.g.* OBSOMER, dans *Amosiadès*, p. 298 et 316.

26 S'agissant de la mise en œuvre des calcaires, on pourra comparer avec l'étude de l'emploi de ceux de Toura et de Dababiya à Karnak par KARLSHAUSEN, Christina, DE PUTTER, Thierry, « *'To build a temple in the beautiful white stone of Anu'*. The use of Tura limestone in Theban architecture », dans Gl. Rosati, M. Chr. Guidotti (éds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptology*. Archaeopress Egyptology 19, 2017, p. 308–312.

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dernier souverain de la 12e dynastie, vers 1789–1786 av. J.-C.[27] (photo 4, p. 15). La provenance de ce torse, élément probable d'une dyade, n'est pas connue et rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'il ait pu provenir du Labyrinthe : on sait en effet que la diversité des pierres mises à contribution – dont le quartzite – caractérisait l'architecture du bâtiment et certains des blocs retrouvés à Haouara par Petrie, parmi lesquels celui qui est aujourd'hui conservé au Petrie Museum de Londres, UC 14337, présentent sur leur face antérieure les mêmes placards, associant cette fois le nom de la fille à celui du père[28].

L'entrée dans les collections françaises de ce bloc remarquable permet d'ajouter le Louvre à la liste des musées qui conservent les vestiges de ce monument d'un grand prestige dans l'Antiquité[29]. Cet article est rédigé au moment où ma collègue Tine Bagh consacre aux monuments d'Haouara et du Labyrinthe conservés à la Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek l'exposition *Pharaoh. The Face of Power*[30], avec notamment la présentation du raccord entre la couronne ÆIN 1418 et le buste de Sobek Boston MFA 12.1003.

Le moment est venu de conclure en donnant la parole à Hérodote et à son admiration pour le Labyrinthe d'Egypte, dans la traduction de Claude Obsomer : « *Je l'ai vu, il est plus grand que ce qu'on peut dire. Si, en effet, on passait en revue les constructions et les ouvrages d'art que les Grecs ont produits, ils paraîtraient être d'un travail et d'une dépense moindres que ce Labyrinthe : pourtant, le Temple d'Ephèse mérite qu'on en parle, et également celui de Samos. Ainsi donc les pyramides étaient plus grandes que ce qu'on pouvait dire, et chacune d'elles était comparable à de nombreux ouvrages des Grecs. Eh bien, le Labyrinthe surpasse même les pyramides !*

27 DELANGE, Elisabeth, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 2060–1560 avant J.-C.*, Paris, 1987, p. 30–31.

28 BLOM-BÖER, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, p. 188, n° 93.

29 BLOM, Ingrid, *Sculpture Fragments and Reliefs Fragments from the Labyrinth at Hawara in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden*. OMRO 69, 1989 (*non vidi*) ; BLOM-BÖER, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, p. 295–299 ; BAGH, *Finds from W. M. F. Petrie's excavations in Egypt*, p. 101–121.

30 12 octobre 2017–25 février 2018, T. Bagh (éd.), *Pharaoh. The Face of Power*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhague, 2017.

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Photo 1 : Bloc Louvre E 33167. Façade. © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-GP/Christian Décamps.

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Photo 2 : Bloc Louvre E 33167. Vue de trois-quarts. © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-GP/ Christian Décamps.



Photo 3 : Bloc Louvre E 33167. Lit de pose et mortaise. © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-GP/Christian Décamps.

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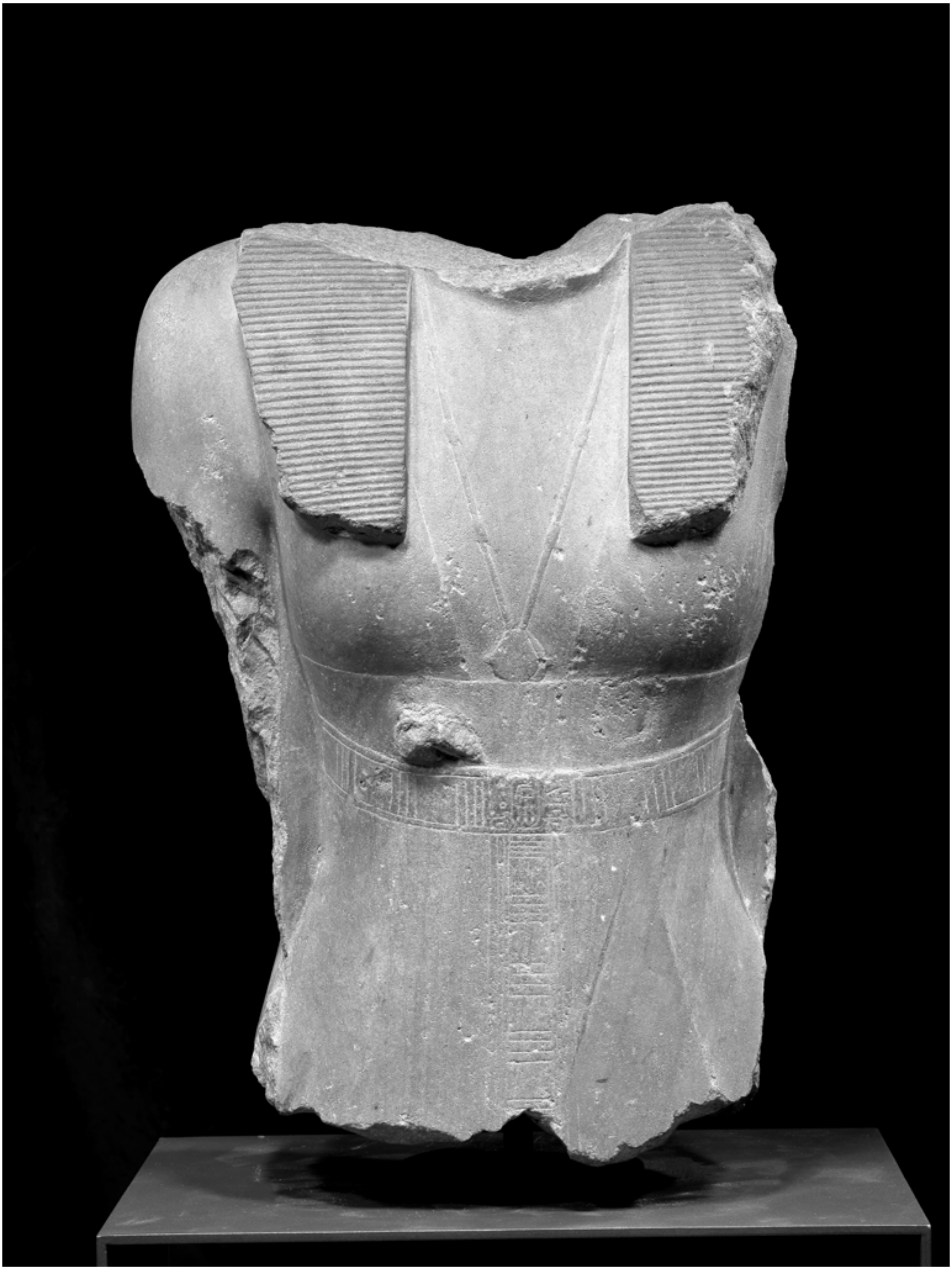


Photo 4 : Torse de la reine Neferousobek E 27135 © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-GP/Georges Poncet.

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Theophoric and basilophoric personal names in the Fayum in the Middle and New Kingdoms

Marco ZECCHI (Università di Bologna)

A study of personal names of a region such as the Fayum, a rather circumscribed geographical area, may offer highly revealing information not only on the choices in name-giving made by its community, but also on the latter's cohesion, cultural identity, attitude to language, ideas of family life, religion and kingship[1]. However, one should be very careful when associating names with specific geographical contexts. When collecting names that are linked to a locality or region, as in this case, there is the risk to attribute a personal name to that place just because of the provenance of its source; but there is also the risk to leave aside personal names of people who actually lived in the Fayum because they appear in documents discovered outside the region. Moreover, in the attempt to trace a history of the onomastics of the Fayum, we are hampered by a frustrating lack of documents for the first dynasties and the whole Old Kingdom. In particular, for the period before 1900 BC no personal name appears to be recorded[2]. Therefore, any comparison with the most ancient periods of the regional history is, at present, not possible; nevertheless, starting at least from the reign of Senusret II and for nearly the whole of the Twelfth Dynasty, the Fayum region went through a period of quick and significant changes, that impacted on the types of personal names. The local culture was very likely shaped and transformed by wider and stronger cultural forces coming from the 'ruling class'. Senusret II and Amenemhat III chose two sites in the region as their final burial ground, each creating a pyramid complex at el-Lahun and Hawara respectively. The kings realized new architectonic, economic and

1 Since the publication of the two volumes by LIEBLEIN, Jens, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques en ordre généalogique et alphabétique publié d'après les monuments égyptiens*, Leipzig, 1871–1892, personal names have been the subject of interest of egyptologists, who have seen in onomastics an important instrument for the study, not only of linguistic aspects, but also of the political, religious and social life of ancient Egypt. Egyptian onomastics is a growing scholarly field. The most recent publications include: MOORE, Teresa, "*Any* as an element in theophoric names", *JARCE* 33, 1996, p. 139–152; MUCHIKI, Yoshiyuki, *Egyptian proper names and loanwords in North-West Semitic*, Atlanta 1999; BACKES, Burkhard, "Index zu Michelle Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique: contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN*', 1–11^{e} série", *BMSAES* 3, 2002, p. 1–30; SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER, Katrin, *Die Personnenamen des Alten Reiches. Altägyptische Onomastik unter lexikographischen und sozio-kulturellen Aspekten*. Philippika 28, Wiesbaden, 2014; GOURDON, Yannis / ENGSHEDEN, Åke (eds.), *Études d'onomastique égyptienne. Méthodologie et nouvelles approches*. RAPH 38, Cairo, 2016.

2 Although a few priests of Sobek of Shedet are known for the Old Kingdom, none of them can be ascribed to the Fayum region: ZECCHI, Marco, *Prosopografia dei sacerdoti del Fayyum. Dall'Antico Regno al IV secolo a.C.* ASCEVOA 4, Imola, 1999, p. 60–61.

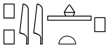
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political enterprises, which must have had a strong impact not only on the social, economic and religious life, but also on the creation of new types of names and patterns of naming.

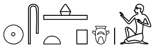
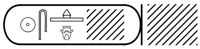
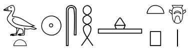
This article aims at analysing the names formed with those of gods and kings, leaving the 'godless' names to a further study. At present I have gathered roughly 440 personal names for the Middle Kingdom, which can be regarded as a good sample in order to gain an insight into the local onomastics. This high number of names gives us an idea of the rich variety of onomastics in the Fayum. Of these personal names, theophoric names are 19.2%, while the percentage of basilophoric names (which are actually theophoric names) is 5.2%. The high number of 'secular' names (75.4%) is common for the whole of Egypt in the Middle Kingdom, when the use of this kind of names reached its peak. So approximately one name out of four makes reference to a god or a king. However, this percentage may be slightly misleading, since it provides data about names and not individuals. Indeed, if we were to analyse how much these names were spread and used in the region, we would find out that the names that occur most frequently refer to kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, from Amenemhat I, the founder of the dynasty, to Amenemhat IV.

Basiliphoric names of the Middle Kingdom:

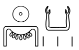
Pepy

 *ḥtp(w)-ppy*, 'Pepy is content' (*PN* I, p. 132, n° 9): 1 male[3].

Amenemhat I

 *sḥtp-ỉb-rꜥ* (*PN* I, 318, n° 6): 4 males[4].
 *sḥtp-ỉb-rꜥ*[…]: 1 male[5].
 *sꜣt-sḥtp-ỉb-rꜥ*, 'Daughter of Sehetep-ib-Ra' (*PN* I, p. 293, n° 23): 1 female[6].

Amenemhat II

 *nbw-kꜣw-rꜥ* (*PN* I, p. 192, n° 9): 3 males[7].

3 Papyri Berlin 10112, 10399, 10342a (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 12).

4 Papyri UC 32167 (COLLIER, Mark / QUIRKE, Stephen, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*. BAR 1209, Oxford, 2004, p. 118–119); UC 32205 (COLLIER, Mark / QUIRKE, Stephen, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*. BAR 1083, Oxford, 2002, p. 120–121); Berlin 10233d, 10341 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, I, Wiesbaden, 1971, n° 294, 482).

5 Statue Musée d'Yverdon (WILD, Henri, "Quatre statuettes du Moyen Empire dans une collection privée de Suisse", *BIFAO* 69, 1971, p. 97–106).

6 Papyrus UC 32114F (COLLIER, Mark / QUIRKE, Stephen, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, Oxford 2006, p. 218–219).

7 Papyri UC 32130 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 50–51), Berlin 10248 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 321), 10012, 10362 and Cairo JE 71583 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, 13). See also UC 32101F (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 200–201).

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Senusret II

mry-ḫʿ-ḫpr-rʿ, ‘Beloved of Kha-kheper-Ra’ (*PN* I, p. 161, n° 7): 1 male[8].

ḫʿ-ḫpr-rʿ (*PN* I, p. 264, n° 17): 1 male[9].

ḫʿ-ḫpr-rʿ-ʿnḫ, ‘Kha-khaper-Ra lives’ (*PN* I, p. 264, n° 18): 3 males[10].

ḫʿ-ḫpr-rʿ-ḥr-ḥb, ‘Kha-kheper-Ra is in festival’ (not in *PN*): 2 males[11].

; *ḫʿ-ḫpr-rʿ-snb*, ‘Kha-kheper-Ra is healthy’ (*PN* I, p. 264, n° 20): 19 males[12].

ḫʿ-ḫpr-rʿ-[…]: 3 males[13].

s-n-wsrt (*PN* I, p. 279, n° 1): 56 males[14].

s-n-wsrt-ʿnḫ, ‘Senusret lives’ (*PN* I, p. 279, n° 4): 2 males[15].

s-n-wsrt-snb, ‘Senusret is healthy’ (*PN* I, p. 279, n° 6): 2 males[16].

s-n-wsrt-snbwbw (*PN* I, p. 279, n° 9): 2 males and 3 females[17].

8 Papyrus UC 32191 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 93).

9 Papyrus UC 32189 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 76–77).

10 Papyri UC 32170 (*ꜣm*), 32191, 32269 (uncertain reading) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 58–59, 93).

11 Papyrus UC 32191 (reading uncertain) and 32191 (*smḫꜣ…*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 93).

12 Papyri UC 32115F, 32137A, 32137C, 32146B, 32150C, 32151B, 32170, 32170 (*fnd*), 32170 (*snb*), 32182, 32191, 32191 (*ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt*), 32191 (*ksw*), 32191 (*sḥtp…*?), 32269 (*snb=f*), 32278AA, 32338 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 48–49, 58–59, 90–91, 93, 220–221, 234–235, 238–239, 254–255, 262–265, 274–275), Berlin 10038B, 10038D, 10065, 10342D, 10374d (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, 19).

13 Papyri UC 32143, 32191, 32269, 32299, 332347 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 58–59, 93, 98–99, 252–253, 282–283).

14 Stele from el-Lahun (*ʿnḫ-ỉt=f*) (PETRIE, William M. F., *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1891, pl. XI), Statue Ortiz Collection (from Hawara?) (ORTIZ, George, *In Pursuit of the Absolute. Art of the Ancient World from the George Ortiz Collection*, London, 1994, n° 33), Papyri UC 32098A, 32116F, 32151C, 32205 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 10–11, 34–35, 78–79, 120–123), 32037, 32166, 32286 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 100–101, 116–117, 120–121), 32095C, 32097A, 32103C, 32107F, 32115F, 32121, 32130, 32132, 32137C, 32143B, 32145A, 32147B, 32153, 32170, 32174, 32175, 32182, 32190B (*nḥy.n=ỉ*), 32191 (*ḥrỉ*), 32308, 32323, 32327, 32330 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 12–13, 40–51, 68–71, 82, 86–89, 93, 96–97, 112–113, 152–155, 182–183, 194–195, 202–205, 250–251, 256–257, 268–269), numerous papyri in Berlin (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 23–26; KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 566, 600 and Anhang II, 4).

15 Statue Berlin AM 31210 (*bbỉ*) (unpublished), papyrus UC 32191 (*kʿwfy*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 93).

16 Papyri UC 32166 (*rn=f snb*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 116–117), Berlin 10066 (SCHARFF, Alexander, “Briefe aus Illahun”, *ZÄS* 59, 1924, p. 44).

17 Papyri UC 32166, 32166 (*wd.n=ỉ-šw*), 32166 (*pꜣ-nty-n=ỉ*, twice), 32166 (*t-wn=s*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 116–117).

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Amenemhat III

ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt (*PN* I, p. 28, n° 8): 2 males[18].

ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt nfr-ỉw: 1 male[19].

ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt sꜣ-sṯt: 1 male[20].

ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt-ʿnḫ, 'Amenemhat lives' (*PN* I, p. 28, n° 11): 1 male[21].

ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt-snb, 'Amenemhat is healthy' (*PN* I, p. 28, n° 13): 2 males[22].

; *ỉmny* (*PN* I, p. 31, n° 13): 16 males[23].

ỉmny-snb, 'Imeny is healthy' (*PN* I, p. 32, n° 2): 1 male[24].

ỉmny-snbw (or *ỉmny-snb-nbww*) (not in *PN*): 1 male[25].

ỉmn[…]: 2 males[26].

ỉmny[…]: 1 male[27].

sꜣt-ỉmny, 'Daughter of Imeny' (*PN* I, p. 286, n° 8): 2 females[28].

Senusret III

ḫʿ-kꜣw-rʿ (*PN* I, p. 264, n° 25): 2 males[29].

18 Papyri UC 32100B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 162–163), 32167 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 118–119).

19 Stele, unknown provenance (GAUTHIER-LAURENT, Madeleine, "Une stèle du Moyen-Empire", *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 75–80). For *nfr-ỉw*, see *PN* I, 194, n° 7.

20 Four documents of unknown provenance: stele Leiden n° 34; stele Moscow I.1.a.5350; stele Alnwick Castle and Rio de Janeiro 2436 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, 63). For the name *sꜣ-sṯt*, see *PN* I, p. 284, 20.

21 Statue Louvre E 11053 (called also *ỉmny-ỉp* and *ỉmny-ʿnḫ*), unknown provenance (DELANGE, Elisabeth, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060–1560 avant J.-C.*, Paris 1987, p. 69–71).

22 Papyri UC 32190 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 14–15); stele (VERNUS, Pascal, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*. StudPohl 13, Rome, 1986, p. 12).

23 Statue MMA 66.99.6, unknown provenance (YOUNG, Eric, "An Offering to Thoth. A Votive Statue from the Galletin Collection", *BMMA* 25, 1966–1967, p. 278); papyri UC 32166, 32167 (Collier / Quirke, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 116–119), 32137C, 32137I, 32170, 32191, 32280A (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 93, 128–129, 134–137, 236–237), Berlin 10023A (SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 59, 1924, 27), 10055, 10096, 10115B, 10206b, 1032A, 10404 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 23, 43, 82, 122, 247, 601) and stele from Abydos (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 30).

24 Stele from Kahun (PETRIE, *Illahun*, pl. XII.12).

25 Reliefs from Hawara (PETRIE, William M. F., *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London 1890, pl. XI.2–4).

26 Papyri UC 32191, 32280J (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 93, 134–137).

27 Papyrus UC 32101H (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 200–201).

28 Papyri UC 32130, 32170 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 50–51).

29 Papyri UC 32166 (*snfrw*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 116–117), 32174 (*kbss*), 32191 (*nb=ỉ-pw*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 40–41, 93).

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Amenemhat IV

 *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw-rꜥ-snb*, ‘Maa-kheru-Ra is healthy’ (not in *PN*): 1 male[30].

In some cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether a name was a theophoric name or a basilophoric name. In the Fayum, for example, the name *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt* refers very likely to Amenemhat III, but it cannot be ruled out *a priori* that the parents, when naming their child, had in mind the god Amon rather than the sovereign. In other cases, the name might refer not to a king but to another individual; for instance, does the female name *sꜣt-ỉmny* refer to the basilophorus *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt* or to a man *ỉmny* related to the name-bearer or her family?

In the Fayum, the most frequently used names were those connected with the throne name or the birth name of Senusret II (*ḫꜥ-ḫpr-rꜥ* and *s-n-wsrt*). This is not surprising since the majority of the sources at our disposal are hieratic papyri coming from his pyramid complex at el-Lahun. The Lahun temple papyri – many of which remain unpublished – are a wealth of information on the administrative, social and religious life of the town. Starting from the death of its founder Senusret II, el-Lahun went through a series of occupational phases. The papyri date partly to the reign of Sensuret III and mainly to the reign of Amenemhat III, until the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

The population of el-Lahun was composed of men and women originally coming from elsewhere, who settled in the site and performed different tasks connected to the cult in honour of its founder. Many of them were of foreign origin. The papyri mention, among the temple workforce, many *aamu*, ‘Asiatics’, immigrants of Syrian-Palestinian origin. Other inhabitants came from the Nubian desert tribes, called *medjay* by the Egyptians. Very likely, Asiatics and Nubians retained a lower status than the native Egyptians. It is interesting that the names of the Asiatics are prevalently Egyptian and that Asiatic names were used as parent’s names or nicknames[31]. Did these people, who settle and lived at el-Lahun, freely choose or were persuaded to adopt Egyptian names? We do not know how and if these individuals were subjected to coercion of different kinds[32]. It has been suggested that Egyptian names were given to foreign children and adults by the Egyptians because of their difficulty in pronouncing foreign names[33]. However, at el-Lahun, names composed with those of Senusret II were very popular also among the Egyptians. This data is very interesting. The act of giving a name is an intentional act, a choice of one or both parents. But why a parent gave a child this or that name is, in the great majority of cases, beyond our understanding[34]. The act of naming children after Senusret II in el-Lahun can

30 Uncertain reading: papyrus UC 32127 (second name: *ỉb-ỉꜥ*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 224–225).

31 LUFT, Ulrich, “Asiatics in Illahun: A preliminary report”, in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti*, Turin, 1993, p. 291–297.

32 MAZZONE, David, “The Dark Side of a Model Community: The ‘Ghetto’ of el-Lahun”, *JAEA* 2, 2017, p. 19–54.

33 DAVID, Rosalie, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt: a Modern Investigation of Pharaoh’s Workforce*, London, 1986, p. 190.

34 POSENER, Georges, “Sur l’attribution d’un nom à un enfant”, *RdE* 22, 1970, p. 204–205; VERNUS,

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hardly be connected to a strong religious enthusiasm for the cult of this deceased king. Even though we should not underestimate the effect of a fashion or local trend, it could rather be regarded as a way of preserving and stressing the belonging to a specific community. For these people – Egyptians and foreigners – who lived at el-Lahun and worked at different levels of the administration of the local pyramid complex centred on the cult of the deceased king, the onomastics was perhaps, rather than a coercive instrument, an instrument of social cohesion. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the fascination for Senusret II left the inhabitants of the rest of the region quite indifferent. Indeed, out of nearly one hundred attestations of individuals named after Senusret II, only one of these is not known thanks to the el-Lahun papyri: a statue dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty, presumably from Hawara and with an offering formula in honour of the throne name of Amenemhat III, Ny-maat-ra, belonged to the 'great steward' (*ỉmy-r pr wr*) *s-n-wsrt*.

The lack of names referring to Senusret II outside of el-Lahun is even more interesting if we compare these names with those referring to Amenemhat III, who may be regarded as the most significant king in the Fayum in the dynastic period, one who greatly intervened in the whole region, ordering the construction not only of his pyramid complex at Hawara, but also of temples, such as that at Shedet dedicated to Sobek and that at Medinet Madi dedicated to Renenutet. Individuals bearing names referring to this king are not only known thanks to papyri form el-Lahun, but also thanks to documents – stele and statues – coming very likely from other areas of the region, such as Hawara and Shedet. Unlike the examples referring to Senusret II, no name seems to have been created from the throne name *n-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ*[35], but only from the kings' birth name *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt*; moreover, also the short name *ỉmny* occurs. The names *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt* and *ỉmny* grew in popularity in the Fayum, as it is expected, starting from Amenemhat III's reign. In the papyri of Kahun dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty these names, with their variants, were borne by people working at different levels in the administration and religious sphere of the town[36], but, by the late Twelfth Dynasty and more specifically in the Thirteenth Dynasty, the name *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt* was almost exclusively borne by high-rank individuals: *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt-ꜥnḫ* (called also *ỉmny-ꜥnḫ* or *ỉmny-ỉp*), perhaps of the late Twelfth Dynasty, was 'overseer of the *hem-netjer* priests' (*ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr*) and 'master of the secrets of the *set-weret* in the great palace in Shedet in the land of the lake' (*ḥry-sštꜣ n st wrt m ꜥḥ wr šdt m tꜣ-š*); *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt sꜣ-sṯt*, active during the reign of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, was 'governor' (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ*), 'royal sealer' (*ḫtmty-bỉty*), 'high steward' (*ỉmy-r pr wr*) and 'overseer of the *hem-netjer* priests of Sobek Shedety' (*ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n sbk šdty*); *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt nfr-ỉw* and *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt-snb ttỉ* of the Thirteenth Dynasty had

Pascal, "Namengebung", in *LÄ* IV, 1982, col. 326–330.

35 In the Middle Kingdom, basilophoric names with that of *n-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ* are rare: *n-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ-snb* (stele Cairo CG 20142 from Abydos: LANGE, Hans Ostenfeldt / SCHÄFER, Heinrich, *Grab- und Denkstein des Mittleren Reiches*, I, CGC, Berlin, 1902, p. 168); *n-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ-m-ḥwt-ꜥꜣt stḫ* (MARTIN, Geoffrey Thorndike, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, 1971, n° 637).

36 For example: UC 32100B, *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt* (*sḫty*); Berlin 10055, *ỉmny* (*ỉbḥ*); Berlin 10023A, *ỉmny* (*ỉry-ꜥꜣ ḥwt-nṯr*); UC 32167, *ỉmny* (*sš ḥry ḫtm n ḫꜣ n dd rmṯ*); 32280J, *ỉmn-[…]* (*wdpw*); 32101H, *ỉmny[…]* (*ỉmy-r w*); stele from Kahun, *ỉmny-snb* (*wꜥb*). In UC 32191 *ỉmn[…]* occurs as the name of the father of an Asiatic among the dancers of the temple.

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both the title of 'overseer of the divine offerings of Sobek Shedety' (*ỉmy-r pr ḥtpw-nṯr sbk šdty*), while another man living during the same dynasty, *ỉmny-snbw*, who was buried at Hawara, besides being a *mty n sꜣ* very likely el-Lahun, was also involved in the cult of Sobek Shedety. It is worthwhile to note that at least four of them had a second name or a short name[37]. Second names are extremely rare in epigraphic sources of the Fayum[38]. Moreover, second names such as *sꜣ-sṯt*, *nfr-ỉw* or *ttỉ* do not seem to have their origin in nicknames but are rather common personal names. The use of second names or nicknames might of course be simply due to the need of a more precise identification or it could be part of the family tradition; however, it is possible that, in these cases, they reflect two different levels of naming: the elite families of the Fayum of the late Twelfth Dynasty and above all of the Thirteenth Dynasty might have been more willing to give their children, next to a more 'personal' name, the name of the king who most contributed to the fortune of their region; it could also be suggested that this basilophoric name was not assigned at the birth of the child but freely adopted by an adult official[39] of the Fayum when he started to work in the local temple; in this respect, it is hardly a coincidence that these officials were all working for the cult of local crocodile god, who owned his popularity to Amenemhat III himself[40].

It should also be noted that, in the Fayum region, the king's names included in basilophoric names were most frequently not enclosed by a cartouche. The only exceptions are two examples found in inscriptions engraved on two statues of the Twelfth Dynasty: the compound name *ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt-ꜥnḫ*, referring to Amenemhat III (Louvre E 11053), and name referring to Amenemhat I, that appears on a statue of the Musée d'Yverdon[41]; since its inscription is damaged, it is not clear whether this was another compound name, *sḥtp-ỉb-rꜥ[…]*, or the simple unextended royal name *sḥtp-ỉb-rꜥ*.

As for the names formed with those of deities, it is not surprising that Sobek was the god who, more than any other, could generate theophoric names. Not only Sobek-names are numerically significant and attested in the whole region, but they show the greatest formal variety. They are prevalently compound names, formed through nominal, adjectival or adverbial sentences or names that connect the newborn and a deity through a direct genitive. Besides a few examples of individuals bearing the single names *sbkỉ*, the majority of the personal names describes a characteristic or condition of the god, above all his being 'content' (*ḥtpw-sbk*), but also his greatness, power and strength. A few examples also refer to a filial or privileged relation between Sobek and the child, constructing him or her as protected by the god or as his son or daughter; there are also names that describe the child as a gift from the deity to his parents, perhaps as the result of their prayers, or names that

37 For the use of second names in the Middle Kingdom, see VERNUS, *Surnom*.

38 Other examples are *sbk-nḫt rn=f snb* (statue Cairo JE 43093) of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the 'overseer of the divine offering of Sobek Shedety' *ḫnty-ḫty-ḥtp nnỉ*, known thanks to documents not coming from the Fayum (VERNUS, *Surnom*, 46).

39 VERNUS, Pascal, "Name", in *LÄ* IV, 1982, col. 323–324.

40 ZECCHI, Marco, *Sobek of Shedet. The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period*. SAE 2, Todi, 2010, p. 37–84.

41 WILD, *BIFAO* 69, 1971, fig. 3.

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seem to be reference to the presence of the god in his festivals[42] – as in the case of *sbk-m-ḥꜣt* and *sbk-ḥr-rkḥ*[43] – even though we cannot take for granted that these kinds of names were usually, or exclusively, given to babies born precisely on the day of the festival.

Sobek-names:

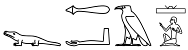
Simple names:

 *sbkỉ* (*PN* I, 306, n° 1): 3 males[44].

Association with other gods:

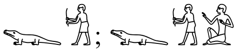
 *ḥr-sbk*, 'Horus-Sobek' (not in *PN*): 1 male[45].

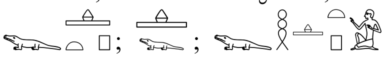
Sobek's qualities:

 *ꜥꜣ-sbk*, 'Sobek is great' (*PN* I, 303, n° 24): 2 males[46].

 *wr-sbk*, 'Sobek is great' (*PN* I, 303, n° 27): 2 males[47].

 *wsr-sbk*, 'Sobek is powerful' (*PN* I, 304, n° 1): 1 male[48].

 *nḫt-sbk*, 'Sobek is strong' (*PN* I, 304, n° 15): 5 males[49].

 *ḥtp(w)-sbk*, 'Sobek is content' (*PN* I 305, n° 6): 16 males[50], 1 female[51].

42 VERNUS, in *LÄ* IV, 1982, col. 328.

43 This name is rare. RANKE, in *PN* I, 305, 5 registers only one example, found on a stele (Cairo CG 20718) of the Middle Kingdom from Abydos.

44 Papyri UC 32093A (uncertain reading, COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 126–127), UC 32144B and UC 32144A (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 178–179, 252–253).

45 Papyrus Berlin 10232d (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 294). In UC 32170 *ḥr-sbk* is the second name of the *ṯsw s-n-wsrt-snb* (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45).

46 Papyri UC 32272D (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 134–135) and UC 32147A (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 256–257).

47 Statue Cairo JE 43095, from Medinet el-Fayum (VERBOVSEK, Alexandra, *"Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben". Private Tempelstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. ÄAT 63, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 453, pl. 10b); papyrus UC 32166 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 116–117).

48 Papyrus UC 32146B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 254–255).

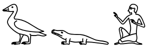
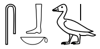
49 Statue Cairo JE 43093 (*nḫt-sbk rn=f snb*) (RANKE, Hermann, "Ein ungewöhnlicher Statuentypus des Mittleren Reiches", *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, Vatican City 1941, p. 169–171); papyri Berlin 10019, 10043, 10068, 10362e and Cairo JE 71582 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 22–23); papyri UC 32147D, 32278B, 32327 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 86–87, 130–131, 274–275). See also KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 393, 516, 671, 678.

50 Statue Cairo JE 34094 from Medinet el-Fayum (ENGELBACH, Reginald, "Statuette-group from Kîmân Fâris", *ASAE* 35, 1935, p. 203–205); papyri Berlin 10021 (SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 59, 1924, p. 45–46, 9*, perhaps the same man as in JE 34094), 10074 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 58), stela Cairo CG 20562 from Abydos (LANGE, Hans Ostenfeldt / SCHÄFER, Heinrich, *Grab- und Denkstein des Mittleren Reiches* II. CGC, Berlin, 1908, p. 196–198); statue Musée Yverdon (WILD, *BIFAO* 69, 1971, p. 90–97); papyri UC 32092B and 32284K (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri:*

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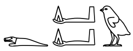
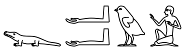
Names connected with the child or parents:

a) Filiation

; ;  *sꜣ-sbk*, 'Son of Sobek' (*PN* I, 284, n° 11): 4 males[52].

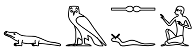
 *sꜣt-sbk*, 'Daughter of Sobek' (*PN* I, 293, n° 9): 1 female[53].

b) Result of a prayer

;  *ddw-sbk*, '(He who has been) given by Sobek' (*PN* I, 402, n° 24): 4 males[54].

 *ddwt-sbk*, '(She who has been) given by Sobek' (*PN* I, 403, n° 18): 1 female[55].

c) Protection

 *sbk-m-sꜣ=f*, 'Sobek is his protection' (*PN* I, 304, n° 7): 4 males[56].

 *sbk-m-sꜣ=s*, 'Sobek is her protection' (*PN* I, 304, n° 8): 2 females[57].

 *ẖw-sbk*, 'Protected of Sobek' (*PN* I, 266, n° 11): 1 male[58].

d) Other names

 *sbk-m-mr(=ỉ)*, 'Sobek is in (my) canal' (not in *PN*): 1 male[59].

Letters, p. 6–7, 159, 171), UC 32127, 32137C, 32144B, 32153, 32158, 32170, 32190F, 32299B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 16–17, 36–37, 44–45, 178–179, 224–225, 236–237, 268–269, 282–283); block Kom Aushīm Museum n° 63.

51 Papyrus UC 32200 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 100–101).

52 Papyri UC 32170 and 32189 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 76–77); stela Louvre C 145 (PM VIII/3, 222); stele Leiden n° 34 (BOESER, Pieter Adriaan Aart, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* II. *Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem alten und mittleren Reich und des mittleren Reiches* 1*, Stelen*, Haag, 1909, pl. XXIV).

53 Statue Cairo JE 43093, from Medinet el-Fayum (RANKE, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, p. 169–171).

54 Stele from Abydos and papyrus Berlin 10091 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 29–30); papyri UC 32119F (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 44–45), 32143B and 32190B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 12–13, 250–251).

55 Stele from Abydos (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 29–30).

56 Papyri Berlin 10016 (SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 59, 1924, p. 25); 10308, 10330b, 10404 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 414, 453, 601).

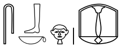
57 Papyri Berlin in BORCHARDT, Ludwig, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitliche Festlegung des mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte", *ZÄS* 37, 1899, p. 91, 98.

58 Papyrus UC 32170 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45).

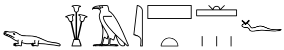
59 Statue Turin 3064, unknown provenance (GRAJETZKI, Wolfram / MINIACI, Gianluca, "The Statue of 'Royal Sealer' and 'Overseer of fields' Kheperka, Turin Museum Cat. 3064", *EVO* 30, 2007, p. 69–74). On this theophoric name, see: VERNUS, Pascal, "Deux statues du Moyen Empire", *BIFAO* 74, 1974, p. 156–158.

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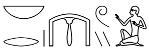
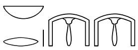
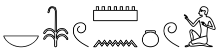
Appearance during festivals:

 *sbk-m-ḥꜣt*, 'Sobek is in front' (*PN* I, 301, n° 15): 1 male[60].
 *sbk-m-ḥb*, 'Sobek is in festival' (*PN* I, 304, n° 5): 1 male[61].
 *sbk-ḥr-rkḥ*, 'Sobek is in the *rekeh*-festival' (*PN* I 305, n° 4): 1 male[62].
 *sbk-ḥr-ḥb*, 'Sobek is in festival' (*PN* I 305, n° 5): 1 female[63].

Other names:

 *sbk-m-ỉwnw/ỉwnn* (?) (not in *PN*): 1 male[64].
 *sbk-ḥꜣ-ỉšt=f*, 'Sobek is behind his possessions' (not in *PN*): 1 male[65].

Toponyms:

;  *nb-rꜣ-sḥwy*, 'Lord of Ra-sehuy' (not in *PN*): 4 males[66].
 *nb-swmnw*, 'Lord of Sumenu' (*PN* I, 186, 8): 2 males[67].

Incomplete:

 *sbk[…]*: 9 males[68].

The majority of these names do not present any particular original elements, as they are attested in the whole of Egypt and also used for other gods. Particularly interesting, however, is the name *ḥr-sbk*, Horus-Sobek, found on a papyrus from el-Lahun of the late Twelfth Dynasty and constructed through the typical Fayumic syncretistic association of the crocodile god with the falcon god Horus[69]. As other major Egyptian deities, Sobek was also able to generate further names that are actually his epithets that clearly refer to one of

60 Papyrus UC 32037 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 100–101).
61 Papyrus UC 32209 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 128–129).
62 Statue Uppsala B 209 (VERBOVSEK, *Als Gunsterweis des Königs*, p. 456–457).
63 Stele Leiden n° 34 (BOESER, *Beschr.* II, pl. XXIV).
64 Papyrus UC 32130 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 50–51).
65 Papyri UC 32170 and 32174 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 40–41, 44–45).
66 Papyri UC 32142C, 32143A, 32323R (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 82–83, 176–177, 248–249), Berlin 10047 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula, "Eine hieratische Stele des Mittleren Reichs", *JEA* 57, 1971, p. 27).
67 Papyri UC 32209 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 130–131), 32100B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 162–163).
68 Papyri UC 32100B (*ḫw*), 32111, 32135B (?), 32139A (?), 32174 (*snb*), 32301 (?), 32326 (?) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 40–41, 78–79, 86–87, 126–127, 162–163, 216–217, 244–245), Berlin 10119B, 10298b (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 146, 392).
69 See ZECCHI, *Sobek of Shedet*, p. 29–30, 43.

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his cult sites. This is the case of *nb-swmnw*, 'lord of Sumenu'[70], in Upper Egypt, and *nb-rꜣ-sḥwy*, 'lord of Ra-sehuy', a locality that, in my opinion, was in the vicinity of el-Lahun[71]. Rather than a reference to the provenance of the family of those bearing these kinds of names, they more likely refer to the importance of these two Sobek's forms in the Fayum of the Middle Kingdom. On some occasions, the inhabitants of the Fayum showed a certain degree of originality in choosing the Sobek-names for their children, as in the case of *sbk-m-ỉwnn/ỉwnw* and *sbk-ḥꜣ-ỉšt=f*. To my knowledge, they are not attested anywhere else. The writing of the first one, with the hieroglyph of the newborn calf, might suggest the reading *sbk-m-ỉwnn*, 'Sobek is in the sanctuary'[72]. An alternative reading might be *sbk-m-ỉwnw*, 'Sobek in (his) complexion' or 'colour', perhaps a reference to the crocodile's physical aspect, in particular its thick skin. The second one might be translated as 'Sobek is behind/around his possessions/meals' and could be taken as an evocation of the voracious nature of the deity, an aspect that is often stressed in religious texts.

Even though it is risky to rank the importance of deities in a region on the basis of its most popular theophoric names, the onomastics confirms what we already know from archaeological and epigraphic sources; that is that the crocodile god enjoyed a great popularity in the Fayum of the Middle Kingdom. Nearly the 27% of the regional theophoric names are in fact formed with that of Sobek; moreover, if we take into consideration the number of people with theophoric names, we see that the individuals who had Sobek-names amounted to 32,3%. Moreover, in the Fayum, and at el-Lahun in particular, individuals with Sobek-names are found among people engaged in different fields, for examples as cooks (*psy*)[73], peasants (*sẖty*)[74], guards of the district counsellor (*ỉmy-sꜣ n qnbty n w*)[75], sealer assistants (*ẖtmw ẖry-ꜥ*)[76], stewards (*ỉmy-r pr*)[77], and staff coordinators (*mty n sꜣ*)[78], workers (*kꜣty n ḥwt-nṯr*)[79], door-keepers (*ỉry-ꜥꜣ n ḥwt-nṯr*)[80], scribes (*sš n ḥwt-nṯr*)[81], lector-priests (*ẖry-ḥb*)[82], *hem-netjer*-priests (*ḥm-nṯr*)[83], overseers of the divine offerings (*ỉmy-r n pr ḥtpw-nṯr*)[84] or overseers of the temple (*ỉmy-r ḥwt-nṯr*)[85]. This shows that, when choosing

70 BETRÒ, Marilina, "Sobek a Sumenu", in S. PERNIGOTTI / M. ZECCHI (eds.), *Il coccodrillo e il cobra. Atti del colloquio Bologna 20/21 aprile 2005*. ASCEVOA 10, Imola, 2006, p. 91–102.
71 ZECCHI, Marco, *Geografia religiosa del Fayyum. Dalle origini al IV secolo a.C.* ASCEVOA 7, Imola, 2001, p. 92–96.
72 *Wb* I, p. 55 (12–13).
73 UC 32144B (*sbkỉ*) and 32323 (*nb-rꜣ-sḥwy*).
74 UC 32100B (*sbk…*).
75 UC 32037 (*sbk-m-ḥꜣt*).
76 UC 32158 (*ḥtpw-sbk*).
77 Statue Musée Yverdon (*ḥtpw-sbk*).
78 UC 32170 (*sꜣ-sbk*).
79 Berlin 10016 (*sbk-m-sꜣ=f*).
80 Berlin 10047 (*nb-rꜣ-sḥwy*).
81 Berlin 10330b (*sbk-m-sꜣ=f*).
82 Cairo JE 43095 (*wr-sbk*), UC 32170 (*ẖw-sbk*), stela from Abydos in PETRIE, William M.F., *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos*. BSAE 37, London, 1925, pl. XII (*ddw-sbk*).
83 Cairo CG 43093 (*nẖt-sbk*).
84 Berlin 10019, 10068, 10362 (*nẖt-sbk*).
85 Leiden n° 34 (*sꜣ-sbk*).

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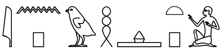
a theophoric name for their children, Sobek was the preferred god by parents belonging to different levels of the local community.

Despite the lack of available data, it is highly probable that the inhabitants of the Fayum named their children after Sobek already in the periods before the Middle Kingdom. However, the importance of the god greatly increased and spread on the national scale in the second part of the Twelfth Dynasty, during the reign of Amenemhat III. The king attributed to the crocodile god characteristics which were alien to his original nature and which enriched his personality. This new idea of Sobek perhaps influenced the religious beliefs of the Fayum. It is possible that its inhabitants, or at least a part of them, were aware of the increased importance of their supreme deity. This awareness is clearly expressed in the new epithets that are ascribed to Sobek in statues dedicated by private citizens, but which are directly borrowed from the texts engraved in the official monuments left by Amenemhat III in the region. Hence, it seems likely that the attention paid to Sobek by Amenemhat III resulted in a further diffusion of Sobek-names in the Fayum.

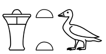
Many gods were able to produce theophoric names in the region. Here they are presented according to theonyms, rather than on a semantic basis. Each case would, of course, deserve attention. Some names are formed with those of important deities of the Egyptian pantheon who were worshipped in the region. For example, there are a few individuals – only attested in the el-Lahun papyri – with names formed with that of Soped, who was worshipped in the town[86], or people with names formed with that of the goddess Renenutet, for whom Amenemhat III built a temple in Medinet Madi. Other names make reference to gods (such as Min, Montu and Khnum) who, as far as we know, in this period weren't the object of an official cult in any locality of the region; it might be possible that in these cases the parents named their children following a family tradition or forms of personal devotion. Moreover, as in the case with Sobek-names, the scribes of the Fayum very frequently employed honorific transposition in compound personal names, with the theonym written at the beginning of the name[87].

Theophoric names:

Anubis

 *ḥtp(w)-ỉnpw*, 'Anubis is content' (*PN* I, 37, 19): 1 male[88]

Bastet

 *sꜣ-bꜣstt*, 'Son of Bastet' (*PN* I, 281, 19): 5 males[89].

86 ZECCHI, *Geografia religiosa*, p. 112–113.

87 *PN* II, p. 13–15; FISCHER, Henry George, *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova*, New York, 1996, p. 69–71; PEUST, Carsten, "Die honorative Transposition in der ägyptischen Schrift", *LingAeg* 15, 2007, p. 93–135.

88 Papyrus Berlin 10006 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 5).

89 Papyri Berlin 10081 and UC 32037 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 64 and COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 100–101), UC 32284J, 32135B (uncertain reading), 32174 (*sꜣ-bꜣstt ỉw-nfr*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 40–41, 126–127, 280–281).

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Geb

gbw (PN I, 350, n° 16): 2 males[90].

sꜣ-gbw, ‘Son of Geb’ (not in *PN*): 7 males[91].

Hathor

sꜣ-ḥwt-ḥr, ‘Son of Hathor’ (*PN* I, 283, n° 20): 2 males[92].

sꜣt-ḥwt-ḥr, ‘Daughter of Hathor’ (*PN* I 291, n° 14): 3 females[93].

sꜣt-ḥwt-ḥr-mryt, ‘Beloved daughter of Hathor’ (not in P*N*): 1 female[94].

ḥwt-ḥr[…]*nfr*[…]: 1 male[95].

nbt-nn-nswt, ‘Lady of Nen-nesut’ (*PN* I, 188, n° 21): 1 female[96].

sꜣ-nht, ‘Son of the sycamore’ (*PN* I, 283, n° 3): 1 male[97].

Horus

wr-ḥr, ‘Horus is great’ (*PN* I , 246, n° 18): 4 males and 1 female[98].

wr-ḥrỉ (not in *PN*): 1 male[99].

nḫt-ḥr, ‘Horus is strong’ (*PN* I, 249, n° 10): 3 males[100].

ḥr (*PN* I, 245, n° 18): 1 female[101].

ḥrỉ (*PN* I, 251, n° 8): 13 males[102].

90 Statuette of unknown provenance (CORTEGGIANI, Jean-Pierre, “Documents divers (I–VI)”, *BIFAO* 73, 1973, p. 148–150); papyrus UC 32053 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 104–105).

91 Papyri UC 32115C, 32213 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 32–33, 142–143), 32143B, 32147C, 32121, 32151D, 32170 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 48–49, 250–251, 256–257, 266–267).

92 Papyri UC 32145A and 32170 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 46–47, 182–183).

93 Statuette Cairo JE 34094 (ENGELBACH, *ASAE* 35, 1935, p. 203–205); papyri UC 32166 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 116–117), 32127 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 46–47, 182–183).

94 Statuette Cairo JE 34094 (ENGELBACH, *ASAE* 35, 1935, p. 203–205).

95 Papyrus UC 32143B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 250–251).

96 Papyrus UC 32037 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 100–101).

97 Papyrus UC 32163 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 110–111).

98 Stele Louvre (GAUTHIER-LAURENT, *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 75–80; papyri UC 32100B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 162–163), Berlin 10050 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 16).

99 Papyrus UC 32286 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 120–121).

100 Papyri UC 32109A, 32299B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 18–19, 282–283), Berlin 10384a (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 560).

101 Stele Louvre (GAUTHIER-LAURENT, *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 75–80).

102 Scarab UC 32214 and papyrus UC 32214 (MARTIN, *Seals*, p. 88; COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri:*

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ḥr-m-ḥb, 'Horus is in festival' (*PN* I, 248, n° 7): 1 female[103].
ḥr-m-sꜣ=f, 'Horus is his protection' (*PN* I, 248, n° 12): 5 males[104].
ḥr-snb-n=ỉ, 'Horus is healthy for me' (not in *PN*): 1 male[105].
ḥr[…]: 4 males[106].
sꜣ-ḥr[…]: 1 male[107].
sꜣt-ḥr-m-ḥꜣt, 'Daughter of Horus who is in front' (*PN* I, 292, n° 2): 2 females[108].

Ihy
ỉḥy-snb, 'Ihy is healthy' (*PN* I, 45, n° 1): 5 males[109].

Isis
ꜣst (PN I, 3, n° 18): 1 female[110].

Khenty-Khety/Khety
wr-ḫnty, 'Khenty is great' (*PN* I, 272, n° 5): 2 males[111].
wr-ḫnty-ḫty, 'Khenty-khety is great' (*PN* I, 272, n° 16): 1 male[112].

Letters, p. 146–147); papyri UC 32197 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 88–89); 32163, 32164 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 110–111, 114–115), 32097A, 32130, 32152B, 32170, 32185, 32186, 32278A, 32282I, 32346 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 50–51, 74–75, 84–85, 138–139, 152–153, 266–267, 274–275, 300–301).

103 Papyrus UC 32203 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 116–117).

104 Papyri UC 32130 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 50–51), Berlin 10014, 10021, 10023, 10033, 10042, 10056, 10082, 10083, 10088, 10127A, 10129a, 10129b, 10233d, 10298b, 10360, 10362a, 10384e, 10400, 10437, 10445a–d (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 16) and Berlin 10031 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 17), 10024, 10028, 10032, 10036, 10037, 10048, 10049, 10063, 10065, 10071, 10074, 10081, 10084, 10129, 10228, 10336b, 10337m, 10342d, 10383b, 10446h, 10447e (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 18, 20, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 49, 51, 56, 58, 64, 67, 174, 288, 469, 478, 486, 559, 671, 674), 10016 and 10023 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 13, 17).

105 Seal from Kahun UC 6694 (MARTIN, *Seals*, n° 1126).

106 Papyri UC 32102A, 32282I, 32308 (?) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 112–113, 138–139, 166–167), Berlin 10302 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 401).

107 Papyrus Berlin10432 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 647).

108 Stele from Abydos (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 29–30).

109 Papyri UC 32058, 32293 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 104–105, 123), 32289 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 160), Berlin 10264 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 31).

110 Papyrus UC 32163 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 110–111).

111 Papyri 32134C, 32145D, 32280C, 32280G, 32280JJ (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 122–123, 128–129, 134–137).

112 Papyrus UC 32114C (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 28–29).

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wsr-ḫnty (?), 'Khenty is powerful' (?) (not in *PN*): 2 males[113].

ḥtp(w)-ḫnty, 'Khenty is content' (*PN* I, 272, n° 14): 4 males[114].

ḥtp(w)-ḫnty-ḫty, 'Khenty-khety is content' (*PN* I, 273, n° 1): 1 male[115].

ḫnty-ḫty (PN I, 272, n° 15): 3 males[116].

ḫnty-ḫty-m-sꜣ=f, 'Khenty-khety is his protection' (*PN* I, 272, n° 20): 1 male[117].

ḫnty[…]: 5 males[118].

sꜣ-ḫnty, 'Son of Khenty' (PN I, 284, n° 4): 1 male[119].

Kherty

ẖrty-m-sꜣ=f, 'Kherty is his protection' (PN I 277, n° 11): 1 male[120].

Khnum

nḫt-ḫnmw, 'Khnum is strong' (*PN* I, 276, n° 1): 1 male[121].

ḥtp(w)-ḫnmw, 'Khnum is content' (*PN* I, 276, n° 6): 2 males[122].

sꜣ-ḫnmw, 'Son of Khnum' (*PN* I, 284, n° 6): 1 male[123].

sꜣt-ḫnmw, 'Daughter of Khnum' (*PN* I, 272, n° 24): 1 female[124].

113 Papyri UC 32276E, 32276F (uncertain readings) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 132–133).

114 Papyri UC 32148E, 32170, 32282I (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 138–139, 262–263); papyrus Berlin 10445 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 665); BORCHARDT, *ZÄS* 37, 1899, p. 98.

115 Papyri Berlin 10049, 10445, 10447c (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 39, 665, 674).

116 Papyri UC 32114C, 32118F, 32119A (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 28–29, 40–43).

117 Two blocks, one in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1889.1018, from Hawara (PETRIE, *Kahun*, pl. XI.5, 7).

118 Papyri UC 32120F, 32136, 32276E, 32276F, 32280GG (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 128–129, 132–133, 136–137, 222–223).

119 Papyrus UC 32143B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 250–251).

120 Papyrus UC 32095C (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 194–195).

121 Papyrus UC 32193 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 70–71).

122 Seal Cairo JE 38253 (MARTIN, *Seals*, 97 n° 1238); papyrus UC 32308 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 112–113).

123 Papyrus UC 32137C (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 236–237).

124 Papyrus UC 32166 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 116–117).

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Khonsu

ḥtp(w)-ḫnsw, 'Khonsu is content' (*PN* I, 271, n° 12): 1 male[125].

Meskhenet

sꜣt-msḫnt, 'Daughter of Meskhenet' (not in *PN*): 1 female[126].

Min

wꜣḏ-mnw, 'Min is fresh' (not in *PN*): 1 male[127].

mnw (PN I, 151, n° 14): 1 male[128].

; *ḥtp(w)-mnw*, 'Min is content' (*PN* I, 152, n° 9): 1 male[129].

Montu

mnṯw-m-ḥꜣt, 'Montu is in front' (*PN* I, 154, n° 7): 1 male[130].

ḥtp(w)-mnṯw, 'Montu is content' (*PN* I, 154, n° 21): 1 male[131].

Nemty

nmty-m-ḥꜣt, 'Nemty is in front' (not in *PN*): 2 males[132].

; *ḥtp(w)-nmty*, 'Nemty is content' (not in *PN*): 2 males[133].

nmty[…]: 1 male[134].

Ptah

wr-bꜣw-ptḥ, 'The *bau* of Ptah are great' (*PN* I, 80, n° 27): 1 male[135].

ptḥ-wnn=f (?): 1 male[136].

125 Papyrus UC 32352 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 104–105).
126 Papyrus UC 32338 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 90–91).
127 Statue Musée Yverdon (WILD, *BIFAO* 69, 1971, p. 90–97).
128 Stele Leiden n° 34 (BOESER, *Beschr.* II, pl. XXIV) and seal MMA 10.130.885 (MARTIN, *Seals*, 447 n° 550).
129 Papyrus UC 32102A (uncertain reading) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 166–167).
130 Papyrus UC 32163 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 110–111).
131 Papyri UC 32143B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 250–251); Berlin 10050 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 40); statue Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt 2607 (PM VIII, 324).
132 Papyrus UC 32148E (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 262–263).
133 Papyri UC 32147D, 32148E (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 130–131, 262–263).
134 Papyrus UC 32148E (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 262–263).
135 Stele Leiden n° 34 (BOESER, *Beschr.* II, pl. XXIV).
136 Papyrus UC 32167 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 118–119).

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ptḥ-pw-wꜣḥ, 'Ptah is enduring' (*PN* I, 139, n° 14): 1 male[137].
ptḥ-pw-ḥꜣt (?) (not in *PN*): 1 male[138].
mry-ptḥ, 'Beloved of Ptah' (P*N* I, 160, n° 14): 1 male[139].

Ra

sꜣ-rʿ, 'Son of Ra' (*PN* I, 283, n° 9): 1 male[140].

sʿnḫ-kꜣ-rʿ, 'The one whom the ka of Ra makes live'[141] (*PN* I, 301, n° 15): 2 males[142].

Renenutet

sꜣ-rnnwtt, 'Son of Renenutet' (*PN* I, 283, n° 14): 3 males[143].
sꜣt-rnnwtt, 'Daughter of Renenutet' (*PN* I, 290, n° 23): 3 females[144]

Soped

; ; *sꜣ-spdw*, 'Son of Soped' (*PN* I, 284, n° 15): 6 males[145].
; *sꜣt-spdw*, 'Daughter of Soped' (*PN* I, 293, n° 15): 3 females[146].
spdw-m-mr=ỉ, 'Soped is among my people' (?) (*PN* I, 306, n° 19): 1 female[147].
spdw-ḥr-ẖnt, 'Soped is in the procession' (not in *PN*): 3 males[148].
spdw[…]: 1 male[149].

137 Papyrus UC 32198 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 94–95).
138 Papyrus UC 32144B (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 178–179).
139 Papyrus UC 32111E (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 216–217).
140 Papyrus UC 32098 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 10–11).
141 The name could also be interpreted as a basilophoric name referring to the throne name of Mentuhotep III.
142 Statue Cairo JE 67851, from the Fayum (FAKHRY, Ahmed, "A Fortnight's Digging at Medinet Qûta (Fayoum)", *ASAE* 40, 1941, p. 904); papyrus UC 32168 (uncertain reading) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 58–59).
143 Papyrus UC 32170 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45).
144 Papyri UC 32170, 32191, 32281A (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–45, 136–137).
145 Papyri UC 32130, 32174, 32269 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 42–43, 50–51, 60–61), Berlin 10001, 10024, 10063 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 1, 18, 49).
146 Papyri UC 32163, 32164, 32058 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 104–105, 110–113).
147 Papyrus UC 32167 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Religious*, p. 118–119).
148 Papyri UC 32119A, 32208 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 42–43, 126–127), 32115H (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 220–221).
149 Papyrus Berlin 10001 (KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, n° 1).

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Sokar

skr (*PN* I, 298, n° 8): 1 male[150].

Thoth

sꜣ-ḏḥwty, 'Son of Thoth' (*PN* I, 285, n° 6): 1 male[151].

nḫt-ḏḥwty, 'Thoth is strong' (*PN* I, 408, n° 7): 3 males[152].

ḥtp(w)-ḏḥwty, 'Thoth is content' (*PN* I, 408, n° 18): 2 males[153].

ḏḥwty (*PN* I, 407, n° 13): 2 males[154].

Netjer

wr-n=ỉ-nṯr, 'God is great for me' (*PN* I, 81, n° 10): 1 male[155].

nḫt(*w*)-*nṯr*, 'God is strong' (*PN* I, 214, n° 18): 1 male[156].

As aforementioned, it is difficult to determine why a child was given this or that name in a particular context, except, perhaps, in those cases where a name seems to be part of a family history. It is not rare for people to name their sons or daughters after their paternal or maternal grandfathers or grandmothers or, more directly, after their father or mother. The Fayum people were not an exception: for example, two Sa-Renenutet and two Sa-Bastet were father and son.

In the Middle Kingdom, the majority of personal names compounded with that of Sobek describes a characteristic of this deity; in particular, the most frequently used name was *ḥtp(w)-sbk*, 'Sobek is content' (24.2% of the individuals with a Sobek-name), while 14.2% bore names stressing the greatness and power of this god. It is interesting to note that this kind of names were usually not bestowed on women; indeed, only one female *ḥtp(w)-sbk* is at present known.

When other gods were involved, the choices made by parents were definitely different. Unlike the Sobek-names, the preferred names, with no distinction of genre, were those that created a filial relationship between the deity and child. Roughly 30% of individuals with theophoric names had a name formed *sꜣ*/*sꜣt*+X, while the names *sꜣ*/*sꜣt*+*sbk* were only 7.1% (the same percentage of the names *ddw/ddwt*+*sbk*). Names describing a characteristic or quality of a deity were roughly 21.5%, with only a woman attested with one of these names

150 Papyrus UC 32121 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 48–49).
151 Papyrus UC 32197 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Letters*, p. 88, 91).
152 Papyri UC 32170, 32190 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 16–17, 46–47)
153 Papyri UC 32170 and 32170 (*snb ʿnḫ.ty.fy*) (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 44–47).
154 Papyri UC 32164 and 32269 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 58–59, 112–113).
155 Stele Louvre C 39 and Stockholm NME 31 (ZECCHI, *Prosopografia*, p. 65).
156 Papyrus UC 32127 (COLLIER / QUIRKE, *Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, p. 224–225).

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(*wr-ḥr*). Unlike what happens with Sobek-names, also the names X+*m-ḥꜣt* or X-*m-sꜣ=f* seem to have been avoided for females.

Names for both genders are formed in similar way. However, far fewer women appear to bear theophoric names, even though this data may be distorted by the limited available sources. In particular, the Sobek-names seem to have been less appreciated than other theophoric names by parents for their daughters: only 8.6% of individuals with Sobek-names are females, while 14% of females had names formed with those of other gods. However, it is interesting to note that, in the Fayum, the majority of the male deities seem to have been unable to yield any female name and that only the Hathor-names are more common among women than men.

There is at least another aspect that should be noted. A few gods, who played a crucial role in the ritual and theological life of the region, seem not to have produced almost any theophoric name. At el-Lahun, for example, the papyri testify that in the pyramid complex the most important forms of veneration, besides that in honour of the dead king, were those attributed to Anubis 'on his mountain'[157] and, to a lesser extent, to Hathor and Sobek. While these two deities have been able to generate theophoric names, Anubis almost failed to do so, even though Anubis-names are attested elsewhere in Egypt. That not all the new cults were able to create new names is corroborated by the case of Osiris. Indeed, there is no name that makes reference to this prominent god. An important cult in his honour was established in the region, at Hawara and Shedet, in the late Twelfth Dynasty. In the Fayum, a specific Osirian epithet was also created: Osiris 'the sovereign, who resides in the land of the lake' (*ỉty ḥry-ỉb tꜣ-š*) and, as such, he appears in offering formulas of monuments that belonged to private citizens of the period[158]. The lack of Osiris-names cannot therefore be ascribed to the fact the god did not have deep roots in the region. Unlike Anubis at el-Lahun, the cult of 'Osiris-ity, who resides in the land of the lake' survived and prospered till the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. Perhaps parents did not think of Anubis or Osiris when naming their children, because they were reluctant, if not completely averse, to give their sons and daughters names of gods too associated with the idea of death.

Unfortunately, the available sources for the Fayum in the period following the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty are very scanty and only one personal name can be ascribed with certainty to the region for the period of the Hyksos domination[159]. Starting from the beginning of the New Kingdom, we have documents that, even though not numerically comparable to those dating to the Middle Kingdom, offer an insight into the onomastics.

My corpus, at present, counts 194 different personal names for 257 individuals for the New Kingdom: 133 "secular" names, 53 theophoric names and 8 basilophoric names. According to the available data, the percentage of theophoric names (and also those of individuals bearing such names) increased: from 19.4% of the Middle Kingdom to 27.6%. It is worth noting that the percentage of the basilophoric names decreased slightly (3.9%).

157 QUIRKE, Stephen, "Gods in the Temple of the King: Anubis at Lahun", in S. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt. New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London 1997, p. 24–48.

158 ZECCHI, Marco, "Osiris in the Fayyum", *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), p. 117–145.

159 Scribal palette from the Fayum, mentioning the scribe *ỉṯw* (*PN* I, 53, 2): GOEDICKE, Hans, "The Scribal Palette of Athu (Berlin Inv. Nr. 7798)", *CdE* 63, 1988, p. 42–56.

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And out of 257 people for the Fayum of the New Kingdom, 92 had theophoric names (35.8% of all the people of the region) and only 11 had basilophoric names.

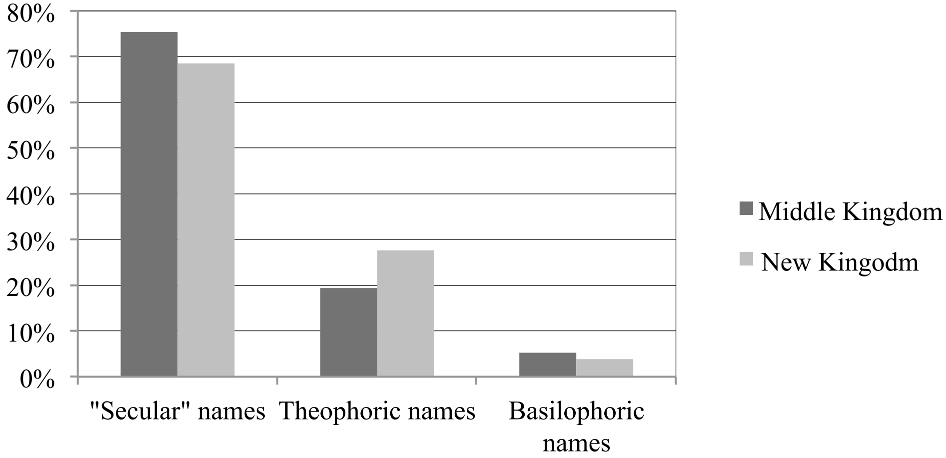


Fig. 1: Percentage of personal names in the Middle and New Kingdoms

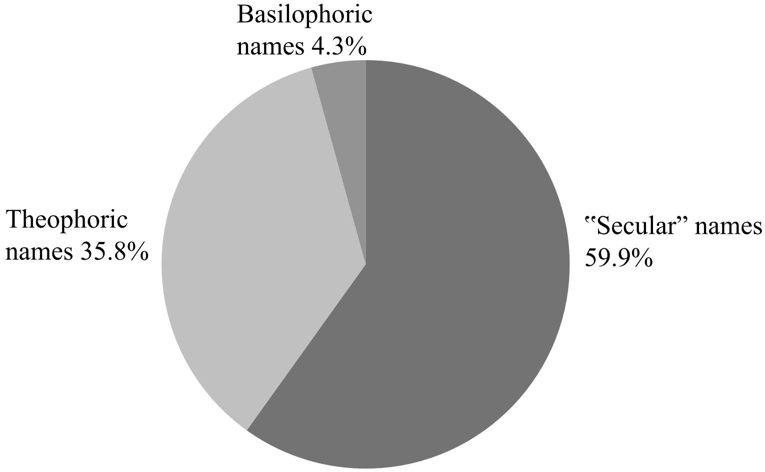


Fig. 2: Percentage of individuals with personal names in the New Kingdoms

As it is expected, all the basilophoric names formed with those of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty disappeared to be replaced with names of two kings of the Ramesside age: Sety I and his son Ramses II.

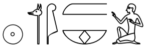
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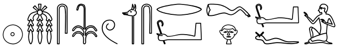
Sety I

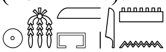
 ;  *sty* (*PN* I, 322, n° 7–8): 4 males[160].

 *ꜥꜣ-sty*, 'Sety is great' (*PN* I, 416, n° 22): 1 male[161].

Ramses II

 *wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ-m-ḥb*, 'Usermaatra is in festival' (*PN* I, 85, n° 15): 1 male[162].

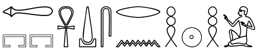
 *rꜥ-ms-sw-wsr-ḥr-ḫpš=f*, 'Ramses is powerful with his arm' (not in *PN*): 1 male[163].

 *rꜥ-ms-(sw-)m-pr-ỉmn*, 'Ramses is in the house of Amon' (not in *PN*): 1 male[164].

 *rꜥ-ms-s(w)-m-pr-rꜥ*, 'Ramses is in the house of Ra' (*PN* I, 218, n° 11; II, 373): 1 male[165].

 *rꜥ-ms-s(w)-nḫt*, 'Ramses is strong' (PN I, 219, n° 3): 1 male[166].

Other names:

 *pr-ꜥꜣ-r-nḥḥ*, 'Pharaoh is towards eternity' (*PN* I, 134, n° 8): 1 male[167].

New patterns of names were created: in the wake of the Egyptian military expansion, names now made reference to the strength of the pharaoh (*rꜥ-ms-s(w)-nḫt*, *rꜥ-ms-sw-wsr-ḥr-ḫpš=f*), but also to his devotion to the main Egyptian deities (Ramses is said to be in the houses of Amon and Ra); there is also a *pr-ꜥꜣ-r-nḥḥ*, 'pharaoh is towards eternity', which seems to be used only in the Ramesside period.

Unlike what happened in the Middle Kingdom, the theophoric names were above all created with those of deities who were worshipped in the Fayum.

160 Papyri from Gurob UC 32785 and fragment G (GARDINER, Alan, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, Oxford, 1948, p. 19–21); papyrus Wilbour B 15, 7; Cairo CG 3539 (PETRIE, *Kahun*, pl. XIX).

161 Papyrus Wilbour A 15, 7; 16, 19.

162 Stele from Gurob (LOAT, Leonard, *Gurob*. BSAE 10, London, 1904, pl. XVII.3) and Cairo JE 28767 (PETRIE, *Kahun*, pl. XXII.5); papyri from Gurob UC 32785 and fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 18, 28).

163 Papyrus Wilbour A 14, 9; B 20, 3.

164 Stele UC 14386 (PETRIE, *Illahun*, pl. XXIV.11).

165 Stele Brussels E 5014 (LOAT, *Gurob*, pl. XV.2) and stele from Abydos (BERLANDINI-GRENIER, Jocelyne, "Le dignitarie ramesside Ramsès-em-per-rê", *BIFAO* 74, 1974, p. 7).

166 Papyrus Wilbour A 111.

167 Stele from Medinet Madi (VOGLIANO, Achille, *Secondo Rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della Regia Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Mâdî (Campagna inverno e primavera 1936 – XIV)*, Milan, 1937, pl. XLVII).

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Sobek

ms(w)-sbk, 'Born of Sobek' (*PN* I, 304, n° 13): 2 males[168].

nḫt-sbk, 'Sobek is strong' (*PN* I, 304, n° 15): 3 males[169].

; ; *sbk-ḥtp(w)*, 'Sobek is content' (*PN* I, 305, n° 6): 3 males[170].

Crocodile god Swy

ns-swy, 'The one who belongs to *Swy*' (*PN* I, 179, n° 4–5): 1 male[171].

Amon

; *ỉmn-m-ỉpt*, 'Amon in Ipet' (*PN* I, 27, n° 18; II, 263, n° 23): 2 males[172].

ỉmn-m-wỉꜣ, 'Amon is in the bark' (*PN* I, 28, n° 1): 2 males[173].

ỉmn-ḥtp(w), 'Amon is content' (*PN* I, 30, n° 12): 1 male[174].

ỉmn-ḫꜥ, 'Amon has appeared' (*PN* I, 30, n° 18): 2 males[175].

wꜣḥ-sw-ỉmn (?), 'Amon favours him' (?) (*PN* I, 27, n° 2): 1 male[176].

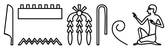
bꜣkt-ỉmn, 'The (female) servant of Amon' (*PN* I, 92, n° 7): 1 female[177].

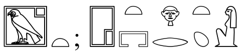
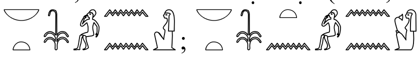
pꜣ-wꜥ-n-ỉmn, 'The only one of Amon' (not in *PN*): 1 male[178].

p(ꜣ)-n-ỉmn, 'The one of Amon' (PN I, 106, n° 8): 1 male[179].

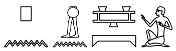
168 Papyrus Wilbour A 15, 9, 16; 18, 10.
169 Papyrus Wilbour A 11, 9; 12, 22; 13, 5; 14, 8, 27–28; 15, 6; 16, 3; 17, 44; 20, 36.
170 Statues Brussels E 6856 (unknown provenance) and Marseille 208 (from the Fayum) (ZECCHI, Marco *Hieroglyphic Inscriptions Fayyum*, III, Imola, 2012, p. 55–56, 113–114) and Berlin 11636 (CHARLES, Robert-P., "La statue-cube de Sobek-hotep gouverneur du Fayoum", *RdE* 12, 1960, p. 1–126); papyrus Wilbour A 18, 15.
171 Papyrus BM 10053, Twentieth Dynasty (PEET, Thomas Eric *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, Oxford 1930, pl. XVII). The name has been read by Ranke *ns-sbk.ỉ*; it might actually also be interpreted as *n-sw-sbk* 'the one who belongs to Sobek'. On the crocodile god *swy*, see: LEITZ, Christian (dir.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (*LGG*) VI. OLA 115, Leuven, 2002, p. 204.
172 Papyrus from Gurob UC 32789 (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 30); statuetta Cairo CG 804 and sarcophagus from tomb 22 of Gurob (PETRIE, *Kahun*, p. 38–39, pl. XXII.8).
173 Papyrus Wilbour A 17, 9, 10, 13; B 21, 5.
174 Papyrus Wilbour A 18, 16.
175 Papyrus Wilbour A 16, 9, 25; 17, 20; 19, 17.
176 Papyrus from Gurob UC 32799 (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 35).
177 Papyrus Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
178 Papyrus Wilbour A 17, 25, 28.

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 *ms(w)-ỉmn*, 'Born of Amon' (*PN* I, 29, n° 8): 2 males[180].
 *nb-ỉmn*, 'Amon is the lord' (*PN* I, 183, n° 10): 2 males[181].
 *nḫt-ỉmn*, 'Amon is strong' (*PN* I, 29, n° 21): 4 males[182].

Hathor
 *ḥwt-ḥr* (*PN* I, 235, n° 6): 3 females[183].
 *nbt-nn-nsw*, 'Lady of Nen-nesut' (*PN* I, 188, n° 21): 1 female[184].

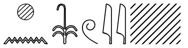
Horus
 *nḫt-ḥr*, 'Horus is strong' (*PN* I, 249, n° 10): 1 male[185].
 *ḥr-m-ḥb*, 'Horus is in festival' (*PN* I, 248, n° 7): 2 males[186].
 *ḥrỉ* (*PN* I, 251, n° 8): 12 males[187].

Inheret
 *p(ꜣ)-n-ỉn-ḥrt*, 'The one of Inheret' (*PN* I, 106, n° 12): 1 male[188].
 *ms(w)-ỉn-ḥrt*, 'Born of Inheret' (*PN* I, 35, n° 14): 2 males[189].

179 Stele (Petrie, *Kahun*, pl. XXII.6).
180 Papyrus Wilbour B 20, 16; papyrus Gurob UC 32784 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 17).
181 Stele (Petrie, *Kahun*, pl. XXII.6), papyrus Gurob UC 32789 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 30–32).
182 Papyrus Gurob UC 32785 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 19); papyrus Wilbour A 17, 14, 31; 18, 4.
183 Stele from Gurob (Brunton, Guy / Engelbach, Reginald, *Gurob*, London, 1927, pl. L); papyrus Gurob fragment K (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29); papyrus Wilbour A 17, 12.
184 Shabtis and stele from Gurob (Brunton / Engelbach, *Gurob*, pls. XXVIII.10, L.2).
185 Papyrus from Gurob UC 32799 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 35).
186 Papyrus Wilbour A 14, 13; B 14, 10.
187 Papyri from Gurob UC 32787, 32789, 32795 and fragment K (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 24, 26, 29, 32; papyrus Wilbour A 2 x + 12, 10, 19; 14, 18, 22; 15, 5, 8, 11; 17, 17, 18, 9; 19, 8, 33, 44; 20, 3, 18; 21, 8; shabtis from Gurob Manchester 6660a–d (Janes, Glenn, *The Shabti Collections* 5. *A Selection from the Manchester Museum*, Cheshire, 2012, n° 33); lintel and jamb Cairo JE 29334–29335, from the Fayum Twentieth Dynasty (Zecchi, Marco, "I rilievi del Museo del Cairo del 'primo profeta di Sobek Shedety' Hori", *REAC* 4, 2002, p. 17–33).
188 Papyrus Gurob UC 32791 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 33).
189 Papyrus from Gurob UC 32799 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 35); papyrus Wilbour B 14, 21.

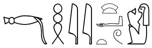
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Khonsu

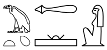
 *ḫnswy[…]* (?): 1 male[190].

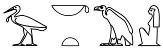
Mehyt

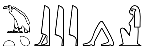
 *mḥyt-m-wsḫt*, 'Mehyt is in the hall' (*PN* I, 164, n° 5): 1 female[191].

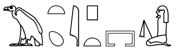
 *mḥyt-ḫʿty*, 'Mehyt has appeared' (*PN* I, 164, n° 8): 1 female[192].

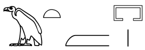
Mut

 *ʿꜣ-mwt*, 'Mut is great' (*PN* I, 147, n° 12): 1 female[193].

 *bꜣkt-mwt*, '(The female) servant of Mut' (*PN* I, 92, n° 15): 1 female[194].

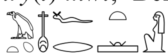
 *mwt-ỉy*(*ty*), 'Mut has come' (*PN* I, 147, n° 6): 1 female[195].

 *mwt-m-ỉpt*, 'Mut is in Ipet' (*PN* I, 420, n° 21; II, 288, n° 24): 1 male[196], 1 female[197].

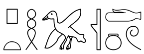
 *mwt-m-pr*, 'Mut is in (my ?) house' (not in *PN*): 1 male[198].

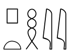
 *mwt-ḫʿ.ty*, 'Mut has appeared' (*PN* I, 148, n° 15): 1 female[199].

 *mry*(*t*)-*mwt*, 'Beloved of Mut' (not in *PN*): 1 female[200].

;  *nfrt-mwt*, 'Beautiful Mut' (or 'Mut is beautiful') (*PN* I, 148, n° 5; 202, n° 8): 2 females[201].

Ptah

 *ptḥ-pꜣ-qd*, 'Ptah, the fashioner' (*PN* II, 287, n° 13): 1 male[202].

 *ptḥy* (*PN* I, 142, n° 4; II, 287, n° 4): 1 male[203].

190 Reading uncertain: papyrus BM 10053 (PEET, *Great Tomb-robberies*, p. 105).
191 Papyrus from Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
192 Stele from Gurob (PETRIE, *Kahun*, pl. XXII.6).
193 Papyrus from Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
194 Stele from Gurob (PETRIE, *Kahun*, pl. XXII.6).
195 Papyrus from Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
196 Shabtis from Gurob (LOAT, *Gurob*, pl. V.3).
197 Papyrus Wilbour A 17, 47.
198 Two shabtis from Gurob, Nineteenth Dynasty: Manchester 637 (JANES, *Shabti Collections. Manchester*, n° 18) and UC 39758.
199 Papyrus Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
200 Papyrus Wilbour 17, 46.
201 Stele (Petrie, *Kahun*, pl. XXII.5); papyrus Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
202 Shabtis from Gurob, Nineteenth Dynasty (BRUNTON / ENGELBACH, *Gurob*, pl. XXVII).

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mry(t)-ptḥ, 'Beloved of Ptah' (*PN* I, 161, n° 19): 1 female[204].

ms(*w*)-*ptḥ*, 'Born of Ptah' (*PN* I, 140, n° 9): 1 male[205].

Ra

pꜣ-rꜥ-ḫꜥw 'Ra has appeared' (not in *PN*): 1 male[206].

; *mry-rꜥ*, 'Beloved of Ra' (*PN* I, 160, n° 23): 4 males[207].

ms(w)-rꜥ, 'Born of Ra' (*PN* I, 218, n° 3): 2 males[208].

nb-rꜥ, 'The lord is Ra' or 'Ra is (my) lord' (*PN* I, 186, n° 1): 1 male[209].

Seth

nḫt-stḫ, 'Seth is strong' (*PN* I, 322, n° 3): 1 male[210].

stḫ-m-ḥb, 'Seth is in festival' (*PN* I, 321, n° 31): 1 male[211].

stḫ(-*ḥr*)-*wnm[=f]*, 'Seth is at his right' (*PN* I, 322, n° 5): 1 male[212].

Taweret

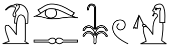
p(ꜣ)-n-tꜣ-wrt, 'The one of Taweret' (*PN* I, 111, n° 17): 2 males[213].

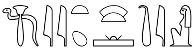
tꜣ-wrt-m-ḥb, 'Taweret is in festival' (*PN* I 355, n° 14): 1 female[214].

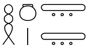
; *tꜣ-wrt-ḥtpty*, 'Taweret is content' (*PN* I, 355, n° 17): 2 females[215].

203 Shabtis from Gurob (LOAT, *Gurob*, pl. V.1).
204 Block-statue of Ramses, Nineteenth Dynasty (unpublished).
205 Papyrus Wilbour A 12, 1.
206 Shabtis from Gurob Manchester 640 (JANES, *Shabti Collections. Manchester*, n° 17), UC 39769.
207 Shabtis from Gurob: Brussels E 3255, 3279 (Eighteenth Dynasty, LOAT, *Gurob*, pl. V.11); Manchester 1445, 1446a–e (Twentieth Dynasty, JANES, *Shabti Collections. Manchester*, n° 21) and Oxford E 3585; papyrus Wilbour A 15, 5; 16, 31; 21, 6.
208 Statue (unpublished); papyrus from Gurob (GRIFFITH, Francis Llewellyn, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom)*, London 1898, pl. XXXIX).
209 Fragment of a caopic jar from Gurob (BRUNTON / ENGELBACH, *Gurob*, pl. XXVII).
210 Papyrus Wilbour A 18, 19.
211 Papyrus Wilbour A 18, 4.
212 Papyrus Wilbour A 17, 38.
213 Papyrus Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29); papyrus Wilbour B 15, 7.
214 Stele from Gurob (BRUNTON / ENGELBACH, *Gurob*, pl. L.3).
215 Stele from Gurob (Brunton – Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. L.3); papyrus Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).

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Thoth
 *rs-sw-ḏḥwty*, 'Thoth watches over him' (not in *PN*): 1 male[216].

Wadjet
 *wɜḏt-ḫʿ.ty*, 'Wadjet has appeared' (*PN* I, 75, n° 10): 1 female[217].

Other names:
 *pɜ-nṯr[…]*: 1 male[218].
 *nb-nṯrw*, 'Lord of the gods' (*PN* I, 185, n° 27): 1 male[219].
 *ns-pɜ-nṯr*, 'He belongs to god' (*PN* I, 175, n° 6): 1 male[220].
 *ḥnwt-tɜwy*, 'Lady of the two lands' (*PN* I, 244, n° 12): 1 female[221].

Some names do not seems to have outlived their religious and social context; indeed, if in some cases there is a certain degree of continuity in theophoric compounds, in other cases we note a striking disappearance of gods who were favoured in the Middle Kingdom.

An interesting phenomenon of the onomastics, and quite unexpected in the Fayum, is that, in the ramesside period, people named after Sobek were numerically less than those named after the Theban gods Amon and Mut. Only about 3% of the known individuals in the whole New Kingdom have names created with that of the crocodile god, contrary to 7.4% of individual bearing Amon-names, even though *ḥrỉ* was with no doubt the preferred personal name in the region. In the Middle Kingdom, mainly thanks to the politics of Amenemhat III, the crocodile god ruled the pantheon of the Fayum without rivals and, as such, he remained the main source for theophoric names, which were disseminated throughout all social strata. In the ramesside period, however, the crocodile god lost most of his supremacy. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the two known Sobekhotep – Sobekhotep son of Kapu and Sobekhotep son of Min – were the most powerful men of the period in the region. They shared a long list of titles, among which those of 'governor of the Fayum' (*ḥɜty-ʿ m tɜ-š*; *ḥɜty-ʿ n š rsy š mḥty*; *wr m m tɜ-š*) and 'overseer of the *hem-netjer* priests of Sobek Shedety' (*ỉmy-r ḥmw-nṯr n sbk šdty*). Moreover, both these two Sobekhotep[222], who

216 Shabtis Manchester 636, 638 from Gurob, Nineteenth Dynasty (JANES, *Shabti Collections. Manchester*, n° 45).
217 Papyrus Gurob fragment K (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 29).
218 Papyrus Gurob UC 32797 (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 25).
219 Stele Cairo JE 36841 from Gurob (LOAT, *Gurob*, pl. XVI.5).
220 Papyrus Gurob UC 32797 (GARDINER, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 25).
221 Stele from Gurob (LOAT, *Gurob*, pl. XVI.2).
222 For Sobekhotep son of Kapu, see ZECCHI, *Sobek of Shedet*, p. 110–111. The treasurer and governor Sobekhotep son of Min did not originally come from the Fayum; he inherithed the title of treasurer from his father and might have married the daughter of his namesake Sobekhotep son of Kapu, from whom he very likely obtained the titles of governor of the Fayum and of main priest of the local cult. For his career, see BRYAN, Betsy, "The Tombowner and His Family", in E. Dziobek / M. Abdel

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maintained direct relations with the royal family, were the only persons in the Fayum whose names contained the hieroglyph of the crocodile on the *naos* as a phonogram. Infact, in the Middle Kingdom, the Fayum people wrote their Sobek-names with the simple hieroglyph of the crocodile or, more rarely, with uniliteral signs, even though in the region the hieroglyph of the crocodile on the *naos* was already used for the theonym in the inscriptions on temple walls. Something, however, changed after the Amarna period. In the ramesside age, there are only six attested people named after Sobek – a 'peasant', a 'soldier' and humble priests – while many of the known members of elite of the period have Amon-names or basilophoric names.

In the New Kingdom names that describe the child as 'born' of a deity became more popular in the whole country and it is therefore not surprising that in the Fayum the names *ms(w)*+X were the most used among the theophoric names. The names *nḫt*+X were equally widespread, in this case for names compounded with that of the local Sobek and those of powerful male deities of the period: Amon, Horus and Seth. Also the names *mry/mryt*+X, referring to the love linking the newborn with a deity, or those expressing a condition of humble submission to the divinity, as in the case of the names Baket-mut or Baket-Amon, were featured in the local onomastics. We also encounter a typical phenomenon of the onomastics of the ramesside period; that is the creation of personal names introduced by the article *pa* (*p(ꜣ)-n*). Finally, a symmetrical distribution, as far as genres are concerned, should be noted in the case of Amon- or Mut-names, with the first ones usually, but not exclusively, given to men, and Mut-names usually, but not exclusively, bestowed on women. Parents, however, seem to have been inclined to avoid certain male deities when naming their daughters, preferring names compounded with those of female theonyms, such as Mut, Hathor, Mehyt, Wadjet and Taweret; the only exceptions are two women named after Amon and Ptah; more interestingly, no woman in this period is at present known to have borne a Sobek-name in the whole region.

We know hardly anything of the practice of naming in ancient Egypt. The child received his or her name perhaps at the moment of birth or soon afterwards; a second name could have been added later in life. Whenever the newborn received his/her name, the choice of this name must have been deliberate. And in case the parents chose a theophoric or basilophoric name they were going to create a connection between the newborn and a god or a king. In some cases this choice might have been dictated by family traditions, but in other cases other reasons must have prevailed. Perhaps parents were just following the trend of the period, or they might have been devoted to the deity evoked; in any case, these kinds of personal names are an important evidence of the way people understood their gods and kings, and are the locus where official religion intertwines with personal forms of devotion. In conclusion, the choice of personal names is strictly connected with the linguistic, political, religious changes occurring in a society. A change in personal names may indicate a substantial cultural change and their study may greatly contribute to a better understanding of the society that produced them.

Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep Theben Nr. 63*. AV 71, Mainz, 1990, p. 81–88; ROEHRIG, Catharine, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse, Royal Tutor, and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands*. UMI, Ann Arbor, 1990, p. 216–232.

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Époque gréco-romaine

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Administration du Fayoum au III^e^ s. av. J.-C. : l'apport des textes démotiques du Fonds Jouguet (Magdôla)

Marie-Pierre CHAUFRAY (CNRS-Ausonius, Bordeaux)

Le fonds Jouguet de l'institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne est majoritairement constitué de papyrus datés de l'époque ptolémaïque[1]. La plupart a été découverte par Pierre Jouguet lors de missions archéologiques dans les nécropoles de Ghôran et de Magdôla, dans le sud du Fayoum, en 1901 et 1902. Quelques papyrus ont été achetés à El-Lahoun et à Hérakléopolis Magna. Une grande partie de ces documents en grec et en égyptien démotique est encore inédite. Après une brève présentation des sites de Magdôla et de Ghôran, l'article se concentrera sur les papyrus provenant de Magdôla pour donner un aperçu de l'état de la publication et présenter quelques documents démotiques inédits liés à l'administration ptolémaïque au III^e^ s. av. J.-C.

Bien que la plus grosse partie du fonds Jouguet ait été découverte *in situ*, les rapports de fouilles sont très imprécis. Les sites sont décrits de façon succinte. Le site de Magdôla est ainsi désigné comme « un village assez important » sans plus de précisions. Le temple de Hérôn, qui devient temple de Sarapis, est brièvement décrit, mais des aquarelles, désormais perdues, avaient été réalisées par Mme Jouguet et présentées lors d'une exposition internationale à Lille en 1902[2]. Pierre Jouguet était d'abord, et avant tout, intéressé par les papyrus. Ceux-ci ont été découverts dans les tombes ptolémaïques où se trouvaient plus de soixante momies couvertes de cartonnages confectionnés à partir de papyrus. Aucun papyrus n'a été retrouvé, en revanche, dans les tombes romaines, ni dans le cimetière des crocodiles, au grand dam de Pierre Jouguet qui, ayant en tête les découvertes de Grenfell et Hunt à Tebtynis, écrivit dans son rapport : « La même bonne fortune nous a été refusée »[3].

Sur Ghôran, Jouguet a donné plus d'informations, mais le début de son rapport indique explicitement que « le but principal […] était la découverte de papyrus grecs »[4]. Jouguet avait d'abord prévu de faire des fouilles à Medinet Ma'di (Narmouthis). Cependant, quand des bédouins lui apportèrent des cartonnages de la nécropole de Ghôran, il changea immédiatement ses plans. Il passa, en tout, trois mois à Ghôran et fouilla le village et la nécropole. L'objectif de la mission se reflète dans la coupe stratigraphique de la nécropole

1 Des textes plus tardifs, en grec, en arabe et en copte, ont également été achetés par P. Jouguet à diverses occasions.

2 Voir JOUGUET, Pierre, « Notice sur les fouilles de Médinet-Ghôran et de Médinet-en-Nahas », *Bulletin de l'université de Lille* 6, 1902, p. 242–243.

3 JOUGUET, Pierre, « Rapport sur deux missions au Fayôum », *Comptes-Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 46^e^ année, N. 3, 1902, p. 348–349.

4 JOUGUET, Pierre, « Rapport sur les fouilles de Médinet-Mâ'di et Médinet-Ghôran », *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 25, 1901, p. 380–381.

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où Jouguet indique les « Momies à papyrus » ainsi que les papyrus découverts apparemment sur le sol. Le rapport de fouilles précise qu'il y avait cinq à six mille tombes. Les momies se trouvaient soit directement dans le sol, soit dans des sarcophages, selon le statut social des personnes inhumées. Dans une pièce, sept momies ont été trouvées ensemble. Certaines momies étaient couvertes de cartonnages fabriqués à partir de papyrus : masques, plastrons, jambières ou semelles. Au total, Jouguet attribua 363 numéros d'inventaire à ces objets. Les cartonnages furent d'abord emportés à Lille où Jouguet fonda un institut de Papyrologie, puis à Paris où Jouguet fonda l'institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne. Ils furent démontés par les papyrologues sans examen préalable afin d'en extraire les papyrus. Ce démontage explique l'état fragmentaire actuel des textes et leur forme qui conserve parfois de près le format du cartonnage.

Les papyrus découverts à Ghôran et à Magdôla sont des documents en grec et/ou en égyptien démotique. La plupart date du III^{e} s. av. J.-C., avec quelques textes antérieurs ainsi que quelques textes du II^{e} s. av. J.-C.[5] Il s'agit surtout de documents administratifs : contrats, lettres, pétitions, *memoranda*, reçus, registres fiscaux, comptes, règlements d'association ou serments. Certains de ces textes proviennent d'archives de fonctionnaires à différents échelons de l'administration[6]. Quelques fragments d'œuvres littéraires ont également été retrouvés dans les cartonnages : en grec, des fragments de Ménandre, Homère ou encore Euripide ; en démotique, un fragment de sagesse. Plus de trois cents papyrus grecs ont déjà été publiés, et certains ont même déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs republications :

1907–29	*P.Lille* I 1–60
1912	*P.Lille* II 1–42
1931–32	*P.Enteux.* 1–113
1966	*P.Sorb.* I 1–56[7]
1976	*P.Coll.Youtie* I 7–11
2006	*P.Count* 1, 3, 6, 7, 49
2011	*P.Sorb.* III 70–144[8]
1925–2011	*SB* III 7176–7176; X 10271–273; 10448–450; XII 10845–874; XIV 11716, 11867–68, 11965; XX 14404–405, 15150–154; XXVI 16700; *AfP* 57, p. 35–54

5 D'après Willy Clarysse (communication personnelle), les textes découverts dans la nécropole de Magdôla seraient plus récents que les textes provenant de Ghôran. Une étude globale sur l'ensemble du fonds doit cependant encore être menée.

6 Voir VANDORPE, Katelijn / CLARYSSE, Willy / VERRETH, Herbert, *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum, KVAB* VI, Leuven / Paris / Bristol, 2015 : les archives du nomarque Aristarchos (p. 78–79) ; du nomarque Diogenes (p. 123–125) ; de l'épistate d'Arsinoé (p. 302–303), du toparque Tésénouphis (p. 406–407) ; du comarque Nektenibis (p. 255) ; les archives contenant des contrats de cautionnements (p. 118–119), des pétitions (p. 300–301).

7 Les *P.Sorb.* I 9–3 et 16–17 sont des papyrus achetés par P. Jouguet à Hérakléopolis. Les autres documents proviennent de Ghôran et de Magdôla.

8 Les textes des archives de Dèmètrios ont été achetés à M. Fackelman en 1978. Leur contenu laisse penser qu'ils proviennent de la nécropole de Magdôla.

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Pour le démotique, une centaine de documents a été publiée jusqu'ici ; un gros travail de publication reste encore à mener :

1921	*P.LilleDem.* I 1–33
1967	*Rech.Pap.* IV, p. 99–106
1968	*RdE* 20, p. 37–50
1973	*P.LilleDem.* II 34–96
1972	*RdE* 24, 1972, p. 31–34
1975	*RdE* 27, 1975, p. 58–61
1977	*P.LilleDem.* 97–98[9] (publiés dans *Enchoria* 7, p. 1–24)
1984	*P.LilleDem.* III 99–108
1984	*Enchoria* 11, p. 59–61
1980	*P.LilleDem.* 110 (publiés dans *Livre du centenaire*, p. 193–203)
1984	*P.LilleDem.* 111–116 (publiés dans *Grammata Demotica,* p. 16–23)
1985	*P.LilleDem.* 118–119 (publiés dans *Studi Bresciani,* p. 68–69 et 153–160)
1987	*P.LilleDem.* 120 (publiés dans *Enchoria* 15, p. 1–9)
1991	*P.LilleDem.* 121 (publiés dans *Enchoria* 18, p. 13–16)
2006	*P.Count* 2, 4, 5
2011	*P.Sorb.* III 76, 78, 81, 83, 85
2016	*P.Sorb.* IV 145–160

Pour les papyrus de Magdôla, sur les 206 numéros d'inventaire[10], 127 sont encore inédits. En grec, les textes publiés provenant de la nécropole de Magdôla sont surtout des pétitions au Roi (126 *enteuxeis*) dont la plupart a été écrite entre 222 et 218 av. J.-C., de la fin du règne de Ptolémée III au début du règne de Ptolémée IV. Les archives de Nektenibis, le comarque du village de Kaminoi dans le district de Polémôn, sont constituées de huit lettres administratives de la fin du III^e siècle. Les autres textes sont des comptes et des lettres qui ne peuvent pas, à l'heure actuelle, être rattachées à des archives spécifiques.

9 Ces documents, comme les *P.LilleDem.* 110–121, n'ont pas été publiés, à l'origine, dans un volume de collection papyrologique mais l'éditrice leur a néanmoins donné une numérotation continue par rapport aux documents précédements publiés ; le numéro 109 est resté sans attribution. Les numéros 97, 98, 111 à 116 et 118 à 121 ont été repris dans le *P.Sorb.* IV. Le *P.LilleDem.* 117 a été republié comme *P.Sorb.* III 78.

10 Les numéros d'inventaire ne correspondent pas nécessairement à un document étant donné qu'un numéro d'inventaire peut regrouper de nombreux fragments.

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SB XII 10858	Reçu	275–225 av. J.-C.
P.Sorb. I 20	Lettre concernant des carriers	254 av. J.-C.
P.Enteux.	Pétitions au Roi	222–218 av. J.-C.
P.Lille I 3	Copie de lettres administratives	apr. 216/215 av. J.-C.
P.Lille I 59	Comptes (bière)	211 av. J.-C.
SB X 10271, XII 10869	*Hypomnemata*	243–201 av. J.-C.
SB XII 10845–48, *SB* XX 14404–05	Archives de Nektenibis (lettres)	205/204 av. J.-C.
SB X 10272, 10448	Lettres	non datées
SB XII 10864	Comptes	non datés
SB X 10449	Liste de noms	non datée

En démotique, seuls huit textes de Magdôla ont été publiés. Deux sont datés d'Artaxerxès I ou III. Le *P.LilleDem.* I 6 est un contrat de cautionnement, mais comme le reste des contrats de cautionnement du fonds Jouguet provient des cartonnages de momies de Ghôran, il est possible qu'il y ait eu une erreur de provenance dans le livre d'inventaire. Les autres documents publiés sont des textes administratifs.

P.LilleDem. I 27	Contrat de vente (biens immobiliers)	Règne d'Artaxerxès
P.LilleDem. I 28	Contrat de mariage	Règne d'Artaxerxès
P.Count 4	Registre fiscal	254–231 av. J.-C.
P.LilleDem. I 6	Contrat de cautionnement	224–216 av. J.-C.
P.LilleDem. III 103	Contrat (prêt de vin)	219 av. J.-C.
P.Sorb. IV 147	Contrat de vente (âne)	197 av. J.-C.
P.Sorb. IV 148	*Memorandum*	196/195 av. J.-C.
P.Sorb. IV 156a–b	Registre notarial	non daté
P.Sorb. IV 145	Texte de sagesse	non daté

Parmi les papyrus démotiques inédits de Magdôla se trouvent plusieurs registres de terres (land surveys) identifiés par Andrew Monson[11]. Différents textes administratifs sont inscrits au verso de ces registres.

Un premier registre de terres a été reconstitué à partir de deux numéros d'inventaire (inv. 258 et 271) qui proviennent de deux momies différentes : la momie B et la momie I[12]. Le verso contient trois colonnes de versements de l'impôt sur le sel (*ḥmꜣ*) par des

11 Voir d'autres exemples dans MONSON, Andrew, « Harvest taxes on cleruchic land in the third century BC », in Derda, Thomas / Łajtar, Adam / Urbanik, Jakub, (éd.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August 2013* III. JJP-Suppl. 28, Varsovie, 2016, p. 1615.
12 Inv. Sorb. 258a+d2+271a+c.

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contribuables aux noms grecs et égyptiens. Les colonnes contiennent 36 lignes en moyenne mais la marge inférieure n'est pas conservée. Les lignes sont précédées d'un trait oblique, sans doute utilisé comme marque de contrôle. Le scribe a annulé certaines entrées au moyen de parenthèses. Il a séparé les noms des contribuables, à droite, des montants à gauche. Les montants enregistrés dans la deuxième colonne, lignes 1–8, correspondent au taux B pratiqué entre 254 et 231 av. J.-C. : 1 drachme pour les hommes, avec la taxe sur l'obole pour les Égyptiens ; 3 oboles pour les femmes[13]. Néanmoins, à partir de la ligne 9 de la deuxième colonne, est enregistré un taux réduit de 5 oboles, versé deux fois, avec, pour le second versement, la précision qu'il s'agit d'un versement pour l'an 2 (*ẖr ḥꜣ.t-sp 2.t*). Ce double versement concerne des contribuables grecs. Étant donné les versements au taux B de l'impôt sur le sel, l'an 2 mentionné devrait correspondre à la deuxième année de règne de Ptolémée III, soit 246/245 av. J.-C., quelques années avant l'introduction du taux C en l'an 5 de Ptolémée III[14]. Les versements de 5 oboles correspondent peut-être à un taux privilégié payé par certains contribuables grecs.

Plusieurs fragments de l'inv. Sorb. 1403, extraits de la momie O, pourraient appartenir au même rouleau. Ils contiennent également, au recto, des sections de registres de terres. La même marque de contrôle, le trait oblique, apparaît au début de chaque ligne au verso, où des noms grecs sont enregistrés avec des paiements en argent. L'an 2 y est également mentionné, ainsi que les villages de Kerkéosiris et de Talithis, situés dans le district de Polémôn.

Une fois reconstitués, ces rouleaux fiscaux apporteront de nouvelles données sur l'impôt sur le sel et les différents taux pratiqués dans le Fayoum, sur la présence de Grecs dans la région, et sur l'administration fiscale dans les villages au sud du Fayoum.

P.Count 4 (TM 44391) est le seul registre de l'impôt sur le sel publié qui provient de Magdôla. Le registre se trouve au recto, ce qui signifie qu'il n'appartient pas au même rouleau que les fragments mentionnés précédemment. Les marques de contrôle n'y sont pas non plus identiques : le trait oblique est, certes, employé par endroit, mais un autre signe, qui semble combiner un trait oblique et un trait horizontal, apparaît ailleurs. Néanmoins *P.Count* 4 enregistre des versements au taux B de l'impôt sur le sel. Les contribuables, essentiellement des policiers (*gl-šr*) et le fils d'un Alexandrin, ont fait supposer à W. Clarysse et à D.J. Thompson qu'il s'agissait d'une liste de personnes habitant à Crocodilopolis, la capitale du nome. Les registres fiscaux remployés dans les cartonnages de Magdôla couvraient donc différentes sections administratives du Fayoum.

Un deuxième registre de terre, l'inv. Sorb. 1418, provient d'une momie dont le numéro est perdu. Au verso sont conservées trois colonnes d'un registre fiscal. La deuxième colonne enregistre des paiements de la taxe sur le sel et d'une autre taxe, *št*, déterminée par la maison et le signe de la mort, dont l'identification m'échappe. Une taxe de ce nom apparaît dans des reçus de Thèbes et il pourrait s'agir d'une taxe funéraire[15]. La taxe sur le

13 Voir CLARYSSE, Willy / THOMPSON, Dorothy J., *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* II, Cambridge, 2006, p. 44–52.

14 CLARYSSE, Willy / THOMPSON, Dorothy J., « The Salt-Tax Rate Once Again », *CdE* 70, 1995, p. 228.

15 Une taxe sur les tombes : voir DEPAUW, Mark, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes. P.Brux.Dem.Inv.E.8252–8256* (MRÉ 8), Turnhout, p. 65.

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sel était fréquemment associée à d'autres taxes[16]. Les paiements enregistrés sont des totaux de versements des deux taxes au mois de Payni par différents villages, dont Théogonis, Ibiôn, Talithis et Pelousion. *P.Count* 27 (TM 7771) est un parallèle, en grec, de versements de l'impôt sur le sel et de la taxe sur l'obole sur deux mois par trois villages : Anoubias, Athenas kômè et Lysimachis, dans le district de Thémistos. Le montant total inclut également la taxe de garde. Au total, les trois villages payent 240 drachmes. Dans l'inv. Sorb. 1418, où sont mentionnés au moins six villages pour le versement de deux taxes sur un mois, le total est d'environ 800 drachmes. Quoique des comparaisons soient encore prématurées, ces textes sont intéressants pour étudier les liens administratifs entre les villages. Dans le registre inédit, les villages identifiés, à l'exception de Pélousion, sont tous situés dans le district de Polémôn, et ils semblent former une unité fiscale.

Un troisième fragment de registre de terres (recto) contient au verso un recensement de population, dont seules trois colonnes sont conservées[17]. Les marques de contrôle sont ici des traits horizontaux, moins fréquents que les traits obliques dans les comptes. Le registre donne une liste de personnes avec les liens familiaux qui les unissent. Le nom du chef de famille est toujours mentionné en premier précédé de *pꜣ ꜥ.wy* « la maisonnée (de) », et suivi de son métier et de son âge. Puis les membres de la famille sont nommés avec leur âge également. Enfin, le registre donne le nombre de total de membres de la maisonnée suivi d'un total séparé du nombre d'hommes. L'indication des âges est rare dans les recensements de l'époque ptolémaïque publiés. Le seul parallèle est le *P.Count* 9 (TM 44394), provenant de la nécropole de Gurob, postérieur à 251/250 av. J.-C.[18] Dans ce document, les âges vont de 19 à 81 ans. Dans la plupart des cas, les femmes sont plus jeunes que leurs maris, sauf une exception : une femme qui a cinq ans de plus que son mari. Dans le registre inédit de Magdôla, les âges sont arrondis à des multiples de cinq et vont de 25 à 75 ans[19]. En général, les femmes ont toujours cinq ans de moins que leurs maris. Dans trois cas, des mères âgées vivent dans la famille de leur fils, mais le schéma familial récurrent est celui du couple. Le registre recense plusieurs prêtres, et tous les noms sont égyptiens.

L'inv. Sorb. 249a est un autre fragment de recensement donnant les âges des personnes recensées. Le numéro de la momie d'où provient ce papyrus de Magdôla est perdu. Le recto ne semble pas contenir de registre de terres mais il est question de blé[20]. Le trait oblique est employé comme marque de contrôle. Ce fragment n'appartient donc pas au texte précédent. Deux colonnes incomplètes sont préservées, mais la fin des lignes de la première colonne

16 *P.Count* 27 : taxe sur l'obole et taxe de garde. Pour d'autres exemples, voir CLARYSSE / THOMPSON, *Counting the People* II, p. 70–74.

17 Inv. Sorb. 271b+d1+258b+c : les fragments proviennent des momies I et B.

18 On retrouve, dans le *P.Count* 9, la marque de contrôle qui combine un trait oblique et un trait horizontal, présente dans *P.Count* 4, registre d'impôt sur le sel provenant de Magdôla. S'il s'agit là d'une marque de contrôle spécifique à un scribe, cela prouverait qu'une partie des papyrus utilisée pour fabriquer les cartonnages des momies de Gurob a été prélevée au même endroit que les papyrus découverts à Magdôla : les archives administratives auraient ainsi été éparpillées sur différentes nécropoles.

19 Sur l'arrondi des âges, voir, ARLT, Carolin, *Deine Seele möge leben für immer und ewig*, StudDem 8, Leuven, 2010, p. 172–184.

20 Seuls la fin d'une colonne et le début d'une autre colonne sont conservés.

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donne les âges avec le mot *rnp.t* « années ». Dans ce fragment les âges vont de 25 à 60 et ils sont arrondis à des multiples de cinq, comme le précédent recensement de Magdôla. Dans la deuxième colonne, les noms sont tous égyptiens. Bien qu'incomplets, ces textes permettent une étude de la population du Fayoum. W. Clarysse et D.J. Thompson décrivaient « the lack of record of actual ages for taxpayers » comme la « second major limitation » de leur étude[21]. Ces fragments inédits de Magdôla aideront à combler cette lacune et peut-être y en a-t-il d'autres dans la collection.

Pour conclure, beaucoup reste à faire sur le fonds Jouguet, plus d'un siècle après la découverte des papyrus. Étant donné la difficulté du puzzle, due au remploi des documents dans des cartonnages de momies, les travaux à venir porteront en priorité sur les papyrus de Magdôla ou sur des textes spécifiques faciles à identifier[22]. Le repérage de mains de scribes pourrait permettre de rassembler des archives que les cartonnages ont dispersées. Les résultats historiques à attendre de cette documentation nouvelle concernent d'abord l'agriculture, à travers les registres de terres, la fiscalité et la population grecque et égyptienne, dans la lignée des travaux de W. Clarysse, D.J. Thompson et A. Monson[23].

21 CLARYSSE / THOMPSON, *Counting the People* II, p. 227.

22 Le projet GESHAEM, « The Graeco-Egyptian State: Hellenistic Archives from Egyptian Mummies » (ERC StG n° 758907), a pour objectif de publier les registres de terres (publication prise en charge par Andrew Monson), et les autres registres fiscaux provenant de Magdôla (publication par moi-même). Les cautionnements provenant de Ghôran seront republiés par Willy Clarysse et moi-même, dans le cadre de ce même projet.

23 CLARYSSE / THOMPSON, *Counting the People* I et II ; MONSON Andrew, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt. Demotic Land Surveys and Accounts (P. Agri)*, Bonn, 2012.

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Soknopaiu Nesos Disneyland?

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Schon seit den Anfängen der Forschungen zum griechisch-römischen Ägypten zählt das am Rand des Faijum gelegene Soknopaiu Nesos zu den berühmtesten Fundstätten dieser Epoche. Dies ist nicht nur der Fülle an Originaldokumenten in griechischer und demotischer Sprache, sondern auch den beachtlichen archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften zu danken, die uns nicht zuletzt die seit 2003 unter der Leitung von Mario Capasso und Paola Davoli durchgeführten Grabungskampagnen der Università del Salento jedes Jahr aufs neue eindrucksvoll vor Augen führen.[1] Gleichwohl gibt es nach wie vor eine Reihe offener Fragen zu diesem vermeintlich bestens bekannten Ort, namentlich diejenige nach seinem rätselhaften, da überraschend plötzlichen Ende; denn während die schriftlichen Quellen bis zum Beginn des III. Jahrhunderts ebenso reich wie kontinuierlich fließen, brechen sie nach dem Jahr 230 n. Chr. unvermittelt ab.

Demgegenüber wurde die Siedlung als solche – fast möchte man sagen, wie üblich – stets als schlichtes Faktum konstatiert. Tatsächlich erweist sich dies bei näherer Betrachtung als die weitaus gewichtigere Frage, stellen sich die Rahmenbedingungen in dieser ausgesetzten Gegend am Wüstenrand doch als ausgesprochen ungünstig dar. So scheint bis heute keine überzeugende Erklärung gefunden, was die Existenzgrundlage der Bevölkerung bildete und wovon sie ihren Lebensunterhalt bestritt.[2] Denn sieht man einmal von der bedeutenden Rolle der Priesterschaft ab, die mit dem Soknopaios-Tempel über ein λόγιμον ἱερόν und damit über ein Heiligtum der höchsten Rangklasse verfügte, ist von dem vertrauten Wirtschaftsmuster antiker Dörfer wenig zu erkennen. So fehlt fast gänzlich die in den traditionell agrarischen Gesellschaften wichtigste Einkommensquelle, nämlich bebau-

1 Vgl. außer den zahlreichen in den Anm. genannten Publikationen bes. die kontinuierlich gepflegte Seite <http://www.museopapirologico.eu/soknopai.htm>. Für die freundliche und äußerst großzügige Unterstützung mit teilweise erst im Erscheinen begriffenem, wenn nicht gar noch unpubliziertem Material, das Mario Capasso und Paola Davoli mir bei der Vorbereitung dieses Beitrags bis zuletzt immer wieder zukommen ließen, schulde ich beiden allergrößten Dank. Herzlicher Dank geht auch an Martin Andreas Stadler für die Vorabübersendung von Auszügen aus seinem neuen Buch sowie an Clementina Caputo für stets aufschlußreiche Diskussionen. Besonders habe ich nochmals Sandra Lippert zu danken, so bereits für die freundliche Einladung zu dieser Tagung, aber mehr noch für ihr unablässiges Engagement, was die ägyptologischen Gesichtspunkten gebührende Beachtung betrifft, und nicht zuletzt für die trotz alledem erzeigte Bereitschaft, die weiterhin vorhandenen Bedenken gegenüber einer als allzu gewagt empfundenen These einstweilen zurückzustellen.

2 Hierzu wie zum folgenden schon HOBSON, Deborah, „Agricultural Land and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos“, *BASP* 21, 1984, 89–109; zuletzt bes. RUFFING, Kai, „Kult, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten – das Beispiel Soknopaiu Nesos“, in M. Fitzenreiter (Hg.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie*. IBAES VII <http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/nilus/net-publications/ibaes7/>), London, 2007, 95–122.

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bares Land. Ein gewisser Ausgleich mag immerhin in den Aktivitäten im Textilgewerbe und wohl mehr noch im Handel bestanden haben, wie insbesondere die hier ausgestellten Zollquittungen zeigen; Erwähnung verdient zudem die ebenfalls erfolgreich betriebene Kamelzucht, die allerdings in den Händen weniger lokaler Priesterfamilien lag. Gleichwohl dürfte all dies allein kaum ausgereicht haben, die sonstigen Defizite wettzumachen, zumal der Ort bei den Nahrungsmitteln, sieht man einmal von den aus dem nahen See gewonnenen Fischen ab, weitgehend von Importen abhängig war.

Nur folgerichtig liest sich die Geschichte des Ortes denn auch als geradezu regelmäßige Abfolge von kurzen Blütephasen und langen Latenzzeiten mit bestenfalls gelegentlichen Aufenthalten. Entsprechend wird man vielmehr die kaiserzeitliche Dauersiedlung als die eigentliche Ausnahme anzusehen haben, ohne daß wir allerdings, so reich unsere Dokumentation auch ist, irgendwelche tiefergehenden Kenntnisse über Charakter und Betrieb des Ortes in diesen zweieinhalb Jahrhunderten besitzen. Nicht zu verkennen ist lediglich der ungewöhnlich hohe Anteil der Priesterschaft, die hier offenbar sogar die Mehrheit der lokalen Bevölkerung stellte.[3] Dabei hatte Deborah Hobson ihre Hauptaktivitäten noch in der Textilproduktion vermutet,[4] während Kai Ruffing zwar die grundsätzlich prekäre Versorgungslage vermerkt, aber dennoch „mit der Gegenwart vieler Ortsfremder insbesondere zur Zeit der Feste im Heiligtum rechnen“ wollte.[5] Bemerkenswerterweise wurde dieser letzte Faktor bislang jedoch kaum je hinreichend gewürdigt, wiewohl sich bei jeder näheren Befassung mit der dörflichen Festkultur im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten rasch erweist, daß die Informationsfülle nirgendwo anders ähnlich dicht ist wie hier.[6] Tatsächlich scheint der Festbetrieb für Soknopaiu Nesos sehr viel mehr als für andere Ortschaften gewesen zu sein und letztlich sogar den Schlüssel bereitzuhalten für das den Texten zufolge so abrupte Ende.[7] Vieles deutet darauf hin, daß eben der Festbetrieb für die Blüte des Ortes in den ersten 250 Jahren römischer Herrschaft ursächlich war und Soknopaiu Nesos sich im Laufe der Zeit geradezu den Charakter einer Art ägyptischen Disneylands erwarb.

Dies ist zweifellos eine gewagte These; schließlich haben Feste außer in so säkularen Kulturen wie der heutigen immer auch mit Religiosität zu tun und können in vielerlei Hinsicht sogar als deren genuiner Ausdruck gelten. Über die religiösen Vorstellungen der Bevölkerung in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten römischer Herrschaft in Ägypten sind wir allerdings ausgesprochen schlecht orientiert, da sie forschungsgeschichtlich eine merkwürdige Zwischenzeit bilden. Erst allmählich beginnt sich die Ägyptologie auch für diese Spätzeitphänomene zu interessieren, während sonst bevorzugt der Aufstieg des Christentums im

3 Vgl. nur HOBSON, *BASP* 21, 1984, 106 f.; RUFFING, in Fitzenreiter (Hg.), *Das Heilige und die Ware*, 99.

4 HOBSON, *BASP* 21, 1984, 107: „It may well be that a major activity of the priesthood within Soknopaiou Nesos itself was the manufacture of clothing.“

5 RUFFING, in Fitzenreiter (Hg.), *Das Heilige und die Ware*, 106.

6 Vgl. nur JÖRDENS, Andrea, „Festivals and Ceremonies in the Countryside“, in M. Langellotti / D. W. Rathbone (Hg.), *Village Institutions in Egypt from Roman to Early Arab Rule* (London, 3./4. 7. 2014) (im Druck).

7 Hierzu zuletzt JÖRDENS, Andrea, „Nochmals zum Ende von Soknopaiu Nesos“, in P. Davoli – N. Pellé (Hg.), *Πολυμάθεια. Studi classici offerti a Mario Capasso*, Lecce – Rovato, 2018, 253–264; vgl. auch das knappe Résumé am Ende dieses Beitrags.

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Mittelpunkt steht. So kamen Studien zu den religiösen Entwicklungen im Niltal während dieser Epoche erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten in Gang, und die Zahl an substantielleren Arbeiten ist nach wie vor überschaubar geblieben.

Auch hier hat man allerdings von der einstmals vorherrschenden Sicht eines über Jahrtausende hinweg unverändert und unwandelbar bewahrten, ja letztlich ‚ewigen' Ägypten inzwischen Abstand genommen. Einen Meilenstein bildete zweifellos die Monographie von David Frankfurter, die kurz vor der Jahrtausendwende unter dem programmatischen Titel *Religion in Roman Egypt* erschien.[8] Frankfurter zufolge habe die Entmachtung der zuvor so einflußreichen Tempel durch die Römer eine neue, persönliche Religiosität und kleinere, in den häuslichen Bereich verlagerte Formen der Verehrung bewirkt, die etwa in der Orakelpraxis und der Ausprägung einer Vielzahl lokaler Gottheiten minderen Ranges ihren Ausdruck fanden. Traditionelle Vorstellungen und Praktiken hätten auf diese Weise, nur eben im Untergrund und daher weniger augenfällig als früher, aber letztlich ungebrochen weiterexistiert, um endlich im koptischen Christentum und nicht zuletzt der koptischen Magie mit neuer Stärke wiederaufzuleben.

Freilich steht noch dahin, wie weit die auch andernorts notierte Tendenz zur „Miniaturisierung" eine rein zeittypische Erscheinung ist. Bei der Ritualpraxis etwa läßt sich derlei sehr wohl bereits im pharaonischen Ägypten belegen, sobald die Rituale unabhängig vom Tempel durchgeführt wurden, wie es von und für Privatpersonen eigentlich die Regel war.[9] Doch sagt dies ohnehin nur bedingt auch etwas über die religiösen Vorstellungen aus, die hinter den jeweiligen Praktiken standen. Gerade hier aber sieht Frankfurter die größten Kontinuitäten gegeben, wie sich nicht zuletzt an der kaiserzeitlichen Festkultur zeige. Zwar seien neue, vom griechischen Modell beeinflußte Formate nicht zu leugnen, die sich teilweise sogar mit den herkömmlichen Feiern vermischten. Nachhaltige Wirkung sei davon jedoch nicht ausgegangen, denn die alten Götter wie auch die zugehörigen Feste mit all ihren Ritualen wurden noch bis weit in das IV. Jhdt. hinein gepflegt. Zumindest auf dem ‚platten Land' habe die „native piety" demnach wie eh und je weitergeblüht und letztlich nichts von ihrer Kraft verloren.[10]

Bezogen auf das Römische Reich als ganzes stellt sich dies bekanntlich anders dar, wo sich die Themen Religion oder gar Magie im allgemeinen und die Entwicklungen der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit im besonderen in Wissenschaft wie Öffentlichkeit derzeit allergrößter Beliebtheit erfreuen. Im Blickpunkt stehen dabei namentlich die sog. orientalischen

8 Hierzu wie zum folgenden FRANKFURTER, David, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and resistance*, Princeton, 1998, wobei sich die Begriffe „little" und „domestic" geradezu schlagwortartig durch das Buch ziehen.

9 So eindrücklich bes. QUACK, Joachim Friedrich, „Miniaturisierung als Schlüssel zum Verständnis römerzeitlicher ägyptischer Rituale?", in O. Hekster / S. Schmidt-Hofner / Ch. Witschel (Hg.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* (Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire Heidelberg, July 5–6, 2007), Leiden – Boston, 2009, 349–366.

10 Vgl. FRANKFURTER, *Religion*, 52–77, bes. 58–60, wofür er als Kronzeugen den Kirchenvater Epiphanios von Salamis, näherhin die Schilderung in Epiph., de fide 12, 1–4 zitiert. Zwar hielt sich Epiphanios längere Zeit in Ägypten auf, doch wird man den Quellenwert durchaus kritischer einschätzen wollen; die Erklärung „But here his sense of geography of festival life in Egypt and its connection with temples and indigenous gods (including the otherwise hardly attested celebrations of Seth) speaks of more than rhetorical stereotype or dependence on classical authors" (60) reicht insoweit jedenfalls kaum aus.

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Kulte, ob dies nun Isis und Sarapis, Mithras, Mani oder Jupiter Dolichenus betrifft; geringere Aufmerksamkeit wird in diesem Zusammenhang allenfalls dem ungleich vertrauteren Jesus Christus zuteil. Mit Erstaunen ist immer wieder zu vermerken, wie rasch und wie weit sich diese neuen Glaubensrichtungen im Imperium Romanum auszubreiten vermochten; die Aufgeschlossenheit großer Bevölkerungsteile gegenüber religiösen Strömungen aller Art kann geradezu als Charakteristikum der Epoche gelten. All dies verweist darauf, daß in der kaiserzeitlichen Gesellschaft eine zunehmende Skepsis gegenüber den traditionellen Kulten Platz griff und viele Menschen auf der Suche nach Sinnstiftung waren, auch wenn sicherlich nicht alle dies mit derselben Ernsthaftigkeit betrieben haben werden wie die frühen Christen, deren Bereitschaft, für ihre Überzeugungen sogar in den Tod zu gehen, dem aufgeklärten Menschen meist recht befremdlich erscheint – wobei wir gerade heute wieder die Eigendynamik solcher Gedankengänge erleben.

Folgt man hingegen Frankfurter, wäre zumindest auf diesem Gebiet wieder eine ‚Sonderstellung Ägyptens' zu konstatieren. Was die von ihm als Kontinuum gedachte „native piety" anbelangt, ist freilich zu bedenken, daß auch die Bevölkerung nicht mehr dieselbe wie unter den Pharaonen war. Drei Jahrhunderte lang hatten bereits von den Ptolemäern angesiedelte Söldner neben und mit den Einheimischen gelebt, die die Vorstellungen des gesamten hellenistischen Ostens in das Nilland hineintrugen. Spätestens mit der Eroberung durch die Römer kamen nochmals andere Denkweisen, aber auch Erwartungen hinzu, an die sich die Einwohnerschaft anzupassen hatte, um erfolgreich in dieser neuen Welt zu agieren. Das schloß stets auch wirtschaftliche Aspekte mit ein, die von alldem fraglos am geläufigsten sind. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang wird man am ehesten an die Baumaßnahmen denken, die sich gleich in zweifacher Weise bemerkbar machten – zum einen mittelbar, da die ägyptischen Steinbrüche den Bedürfnissen Roms nachzukommen und beispielsweise Säulen für das dortige Pantheon zu liefern hatten, zum anderen aber auch unmittelbar, wie bereits die drei Bände von Günter Hölbl über den kaiserzeitlichen Tempelbau in Ägypten anzeigen.[11]

Von all diesen Entwicklungen scheint Soknopaiu Nesos freilich merkwürdig unberührt geblieben zu sein, das unter allen ägyptischen Ortschaften gewiß die eigenwilligste war. Weitab von allen anderen menschlichen Siedlungen im Norden des Moerissees gelegen, ohne nennenswertes Fruchtland und fast ausschließlich über Wüstenwege erreichbar, stellte sich die Lage des Ortes als ebenso einzigartig wie ungastlich dar. Bereits der Name verweist auf den Inselcharakter, den diese 2 km vom Seeufer entfernte Geländeformation besaß. Genauer handelte es sich um ein nahezu ovales Plateau von rund 660 m Länge und 350 m Breite, das sich bis zu 13 m über die umgebende Landschaft erhob und an dessen höchstem Punkt im Nordwesten das alles beherrschende Heiligtum stand. Die Versorgung mit Nahrungsmitteln und selbst Wasser bildete ein Dauerproblem, so daß Mario Capasso zuletzt den Süßwassermangel sogar als den eigentlichen Grund für die Aufgabe des Ortes in den 230er Jahren ansah.[12] Folglich nimmt auch nicht wunder, daß es bis zum Beginn der

11 HÖLBL, Günter, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, 3 Bde., Mainz am Rhein, 2000; 2004; 2005.

12 So bes. in dem großen Überblicksartikel von CAPASSO, Mario, „Soknopaios, il tempio, il culto e i sacerdoti: Il contributo dei papiri", in M. Capasso / P. Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaios. The Temple and Worship*

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Römerzeit allenfalls sporadische Siedlungsaktivitäten gab, die selten mehr als eine Generation überdauert zu haben scheinen. Den großzügigen Zuschnitt, der für die erste, in frühptolemäischer Zeit gegründete und bald wieder von Sand bedeckte Gründung noch kennzeichnend war, sollte dabei keine der späteren Anlagen mehr aufweisen.[13]

Ein exponierter, geradezu lebensfeindlicher Ort also, nur äußerst schwer über den See oder durch die Wüste zu erreichen, aber von beeindruckender landschaftlicher Gestalt – all diese Eigenschaften mußten das Plateau geradezu als Sitz einer Gottheit prädestinieren. Tatsächlich scheinen Kultaktivitäten schon in pharaonischer Zeit für Soknopaiu Nesos belegt,[14] und auch unter christlichen Vorzeichen ging die Anziehungskraft dieses Ortes, wie kürzlich wieder von Mario Capasso betont,[15] nicht verloren. Ein durchgehender Tempelbetrieb dürfte allerdings nur zu gewissen Zeiten bestanden haben. In der Regel hat man sich offenbar damit begnügt, die Kultdienste nur an hohen Feiertagen von eigens angereisten Priestern vollziehen zu lassen, die dabei auch nicht zwingend auf eine außerhalb des Temenos wohnhafte Bevölkerung trafen. Dem entsprachen denn auch die zeitlich eher begrenzten Siedlungsphasen, so daß die gut zweieinhalb Jahrhunderte von Augustus bis zu den Severern, die durch die Fülle der hier aufgefundenen Papyri unser Bild von dem Ort bis heute bestimmen, tatsächlich als Besonderheit zu werten sind.

Von Augustus insofern, als die Dokumentation nach längerer Unterbrechung erst wieder mit den Römern reichlicher fließt, soweit es Papyri und Ostraka betrifft. Aus den inschriftlich belegten Stiftungen, durch die der Tempel unter Ptolemaios X. Alexander jährliche Zuwendungen an Weizen erhielt,[16] ist jedenfalls nicht notwendig auf dörfliche Strukturen zu schließen, ebenso wenig aus den vielleicht im Jahr 68/67 v. Chr. gesetzten Statuen Ptolemaios' XII.[17] Fast folgerichtig treten uns in der berühmten Weihinschrift der Umfas-

(Proc. First Round Table CSPUS Lecce, 9. 10. 2013), Lecce – Rovato, 2015, 33–116.

13 Vgl. außer den Grabungsberichten von BOAK, Arthur E. R., *Soknopaiou Nesos. The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931–32,* Ann Arbor, 1935 bes. auch MAEHLER, Herwig, „Häuser und ihre Bewohner im Fayûm in der Kaiserzeit", in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Akten des internationalen Symposions Trier, 26.–30. September 1978). Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2, Mainz am Rhein, 1983, 119–137, bes. 122 ff.

14 So vor allem LEMBKE, Katja, „Dimeh. Römische Repräsentationskunst im Fayyum", *JDAI* 113, 1998, 109–137, bes. 110, wobei die von ihr erschlossene „durchgehende Besiedlung" in dem hier vorgetragenen Sinne mit gewissen Kautelen zu versehen ist. Neuere Scherbenfunde verweisen immerhin auf eine menschliche Präsenz in der näheren Umgebung seit der Jungsteinzeit, vgl. zuletzt CAPASSO, Mario / DAVOLI, Paola, „Soknopaiou Nesos Project. Report on Season 2012 of the Archaeological Mission of the Centro di Studi Papirologici of Salento University at Dime es-Seba (El-Fayyum, Egypt)", *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 22, 2013, 71–84, bes. 77.

15 CAPASSO, Mario, „L'enigma della provenienza dei manoscritti Freer e dei codici cristiani Viennesi alla luce dei nuovi scavi a Soknopaiou Nesos", Vortrag gehalten auf 28. Internationalen Papyrologenkongreß (Barcelona, 1.–6. 8. 2016). Für die Übersendung des noch ungedruckten Manuskripts habe ich Mario Capasso herzlich zu danken.

16 I. Fay. I 70 = OGIS I 177 = I. Prose 29 = SB V 8886 (97/96 v. Chr.) bzw. I. Fay. I 71 = OGIS I 179 = I. Prose 31 = SB V 8888 = W. Chr. 168 (21. 11. 95 v. Chr.); vgl. auch BINGEN, Jean, „Épigraphie grecque d'Égypte : la prose sur pierre", *CdE* 69, 1994, 152–167, bes. 159 f.

17 I. Fay. I 72 = SEG VIII 577 = SB V 7833, wobei Ergänzung wie zeitliche Einordnung der fragmentarischen Inschrift durchaus unsicher sind. Zu den 2012 ergrabenen Köpfen zweier Mitglieder des Ptolemäerhauses, im Falle von ST 12/800/3742 wohl Ptolemaios' VI., CAPASSO / DAVOLI, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 22, 2013, 74 f. mit 82 Fig. 4.

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sungsmauer vom 16. 3. 24 v. Chr. denn auch Einwohner eines ganz anderen Ortes, nämlich die Schafzüchter von Neilupolis mitsamt ihren Frauen und Kindern entgegen.[18] Nur wenig später, nämlich im 10. Jahr des Augustus und damit 21/20 v. Chr., wurde auch die inzwischen vielfach abgebildete Stele gestiftet, die einen thronenden Gott mit Falken-, Krokodil- und Menschenkopf zwischen zwei ihm zugewandten Horusfalken zeigt.[19] In diese selbe Zeit dürfte aktuellen Forschungen zufolge die Vollendung des neuen steinernen Tempels datieren, der den aus Nilschlammziegeln gefertigten ptolemäerzeitlichen Vorgängerbau zu einer Art bloßen Propylons degradierte.[20] Daß die Römer mit einer Reihe von Maßnahmen die lange darniederliegende Wirtschaft des Landes zu heben suchten, lehren sogar literarische Quellen, die etwa von der Reinigung der Kanäle auf Anordnung des Augustus berichten.[21] So scheint mit dem neuen Regime geradezu eine regelrechte Aufbruchstimmung entstanden zu sein, die auch manch entlegenere Zonen des Landes erfaßte und für Soknopaiu Nesos in einer weiteren Siedlungsphase resultierte.

Diese neue, insgesamt erfolgreichste Niederlassung war bereits die dritte, die deutlich dörflicheren Charakter als noch unter Ptolemaios II. besaß, dafür aber offenbar erstmals auch Gebiete östlich des Dromos miteinbezog. Hieraus dürften sich immerhin manche der Unsicherheiten über den Charakter der ψιλοὶ τόποι erklären, die in den jahrzehntelangen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Priestern Satabus und Nestnephis eine so zentrale Stellung einnahmen.[22] Zu einer weitgehenden Neugründung könnte auch der Umstand passen, daß einige der frühesten staatsnotariellen Urkunden mit nesiotischer Beteiligung gar nicht hier, sondern in den Grapheia benachbarter Orte wie dem nicht näher bekannten Psinachis oder Neilupolis errichtet wurden, das mit Soknopaiu Nesos zeitweilig sogar ein gemeinsames Urkundsbüro besaß.[23] Daß man sich vor Ort schon bald um ein eigenes, dann

18 I. Fay. I 73 = OGIS II 655 = SB V 8895; zur Einordnung jetzt DAVOLI, Paola, „The temple as a spatial and architectural reality“, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaios*, 117–154, bes. 137 f.

19 ST 10/731/3533, vgl. auch unten Anm. 42 ff. mit Text; die Datierung nach den bei CAPASSO, Mario, „Nuovi ritrovamenti di papiri e ostraka a Soknopaiou Nesos (2010–2012)“, in T. Derda u.a. (Hg.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw, 29. 07.–03. 08. 2013* III, JJP-Suppl. 28, Warszawa, 2016, 1473–1481, bes. 1476 angeführten Anschlußstücken ST 08/604/2451 und ST 10/712/3440.

20 Vgl. jetzt DAVOLI, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaios*.

21 Vgl. nur JÖRDENS, Andrea, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum* praefectus Aegypti. Historia Einzelschriften 175, Stuttgart, 2009, bes. 401 ff.

22 Vgl. zu diesen vielfach behandelten Auseinandersetzungen nur SCHENTULEIT, Maren, „Satabus aus Soknopaiu Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit“, *CdE* 82, 2007, 101–125, bes. 103 ff. mit weiterer Literatur.

23 Vgl. den im Grapheion von Psinachis errichteten Hauskaufvertrag P. Dime III 5 = M. Chr. 181 = P. Lond. II 262 (S. 176) vom 21. 11. 11 (TM#44702) mitsamt der in fünf Fassungen vorliegenden griechischen Übersetzung in SB I 5231 = Pap. Jur. 28 (TM#13979), SB I 5275 (TM#13994) sowie CPR XV 2 (TM#9904), 3 (TM#9911) und 4 (TM#9912) oder die im Grapheion von Neilupolis aufgesetzten P. Dime III 22 = BGU XIII 2337 (29. 10. 45; = TM#9726), P. Dime III 27 = P. Bosw. 1 (14. 9. 54; = TM#48588) und vielleicht den Eselkauf SB XVI 13073 = P. Lond. II 279 descr. (3. 12. 51; = TM#14711). Ein gemeinsames, in diesem Fall sogar merisübergreifendes Grapheion von Neilupolis, Soknopaiu Nesos und Herakleia – wohlgemerkt in dieser Reihenfolge – ist in C. Pap. Gr. I 20 = BGU I 297 (20. 7. 50; = TM#9040), 3 ff. belegt; hierzu wie zu weiteren gemeinsamen Amtsträgern vgl. bereits GRENFELL, Bernard P. / HUNT, Arthur S., Appendix zu P. Tebt. II, bes. S. 391 s.v. Νείλου πόλις κώμη sowie allgem. jetzt LIPPERT, Sandra L. / SCHENTULEIT, Maren, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III.*

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auch ausgesprochen aktives Grapheion bemühte,[24] verweist wiederum auf den rasch ansteigenden Bedarf. Die für das örtliche Urkundswesen typische ungelenke Schrift wie auch die extrem krude Orthographie in den griechischen Partien könnten annehmen lassen, daß die Urkundsschreiber eher im Demotischen als im Griechischen beheimatet waren und dies auch über Jahrzehnte hinweg blieben, doch stellt sich die Situation wohl komplexer dar.[25] Durch die hohe Anzahl an Priestertiteln unter den Vertragsparteien wird die hohe Bedeutung der Priesterschaft weiter bestätigt, der bei der Neu- oder besser Wiederbesiedlung offenkundig eine zentrale Rolle zukam.

Der Tempelbetrieb jedenfalls florierte, wie sich namentlich aus der reichen Evidenz in demotischer Sprache ergibt.[26] Für Außenstehende sichtbares Zeugnis legte davon vor allem das in neuem Glanz erstrahlende Heiligtum ab, so etwa auch die beiden qualitätvollen Wasserspeier an den Seiten des Tempels in Löwengestalt.[27] Weitere, deutlich monumentalere Löwenfiguren lassen sich auf den beiden Sockeln am Eingang des Dromos vermuten, der ungewöhnlicherweise rund 3 m über das sonstige Straßenniveau erhöht war.[28] Die Blicke zog gewiß nicht zuletzt eine Reihe frühkaiserzeitlicher Stand- oder Sitzstatuen aus Basalt auf sich, die an den Seiten des Dromos oder – nach dem perfekten Erhaltungszustand zu urteilen vielleicht eher – im Vorhof des Tempelkomplexes standen.[29]

Urkunden (DDD III), Wiesbaden, 2010, S. 106 f. Hier war auch schon die vom 12. 7. 74 v. Chr. datierende und ebenfalls in Soknopaiu Nesos gefundene Sechszeugenurkunde SB V 7532 (= TM#5697) entstanden, vgl. bereits YOUTIE, Herbert C., „P. Mich. Inv. 6051 = Sammelbuch V 7532“, *ZPE* 12, 1973, 161–176 = DERS., *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, Bonn, 1981, 79–89, bes. 161 bzw. 79 Anm. 2.

24 Vgl. außer den in DDD III zusammengestellten Urkunden allgem. JÖRDENS, Andrea, „Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiu Nesos“, in S. L. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (Hg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos – Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Sommerhausen, 11.–13. 12. 2003), Wiesbaden, 2005, 41–56, bes. 46f.

25 So aufgrund der zunehmenden Evidenz jetzt LIPPERT / SCHENTULEIT, DDD III, S. 103ff., wonach erstmals unter Claudius die Identität von demotischem und griechischem Grapheionbeamten gesichert sei; zuversichtlicher dagegen noch MUHS, Brian P., „The grapheion and the disappearance of Demotic contracts in early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos“, in Lippert / Schentuleit (Hg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, 93–104, bes. 102 ff.

26 Hinzuweisen ist vor allem auf die Menge fast ausschließlich demotischer Ostraka, die bei den letzten Grabungskampagnen des inzwischen am *Centro di Studi Papirologici* der Università del Salento angesiedelten *Soknopaiou Nesos Project* zutage traten; vgl. jedoch auch das von K.-Th. Zauzich initiierte Projekt *Soknopaiu Nesos nach den demotischen Quellen römischer Zeit*, in dessen Rahmen S. L. LIPPERT und M. SCHENTULEIT inzwischen drei Bände mit dem Titel *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime* vorlegen konnten: *Band I. Ostraka* (DDD I), Wiesbaden, 2006; *Band II. Quittungen* (DDD II), Wiesbaden, 2006; *Band III. Urkunden* (DDD III), Wiesbaden, 2010; ein vierter Band zu den Abmachungen ist in Vorbereitung.

27 Hierzu bes. CAPASSO / DAVOLI, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 22, 2013, 74 mit 81 f. Fig. 2 und 3; knapp auch CAPASSO, in Derda u.a. (Hg.), *Proc. 27th Intern. Congr. Pap.*, III 1479; DAVOLI, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaios*, 128 mit 152 Fig. 8; die Abb. auch online unter <http://www.museopapirologico.eu/img/report/2012/2a.jpg>, <~2b.jpg> sowie <~2c.jpg> (letzter Zugriff Sept. 2017).

28 Vgl. nur MINAYA, Giuseppe A., „Il *dromos*“, in M. Capasso / P. Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I (2003–2009)*. Bibl. SEP 9, Pisa – Roma, 2012, 83–109, bes. 100 Anm. 1 sowie 100 f. Fig. 24–27 zu der in der Nähe aufgefundenen, stark zerstörten Löwenfigur SD 07/17/2650; zu den dort vermuteten Löwen zuletzt DAVOLI, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaios*, 141.

29 Grundlegend hierzu BIANCHI, Robert S., „The cultural transformation of Egypt as suggested by a group of enthroned male figures from the Faiyum“, in J. H. Johnson (Hg.), *Life in a multi-cultural society.*

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Trotz unverkennbarer Anleihen an pharaonischen Götterbildern hatten gelocktes Haar, Priesterbinden und sogar Sandalen hierbei lange Zeit an Mitglieder führender Priesterfamilien denken lassen, doch scheint es sich neueren Forschungen zufolge vielmehr um Darstellungen vergöttlichter Menschen und also Weihungen zu handeln. Zu den bekanntesten darunter zählt eine Sitzstatue, bei der das an der linken Seite des Hockers eingemeißelte Dromedar auf die gerade in Soknopaiu Nesos blühende Kamelzucht verweist.[30] Diese Statue ist zugleich als einzige demotisch beschriftet, während die anderen überwiegend Standbilder sind und allenfalls griechische Schriftzüge auf Sockel oder Gewandfalten tragen.[31] Allerdings zeichnet sich die Schrift durch zahlreiche Abkürzungen aus und steht vom gesamten Duktus der zeitgenössischen Kursive näher als den Inschriftenstelen.[32] Dies unterstreicht noch die eigenwillige Verbindung traditioneller Darstellungsformen und griechischer Elemente, die diese Statuengruppe charakterisiert und schon Robert S. Bianchi von einem „quaint, almost folk art approach to sculpture“ hatte sprechen lassen.[33] Katja Lembke wollte darin hingegen eine „Tendenz zur Popularisierung“ erkennen, mit dem „Ziel …, die eigene Würde und sein Ansehen hervorzuheben, ganz im Sinne des griechisch-römischen Repräsentationsgedankens.“[34] Was die ursprünglichen Intentionen der Stifter betrifft, sollte diese Deutung nunmehr aufzugeben sein; noch weniger als schon bisher wird man die Adressaten demzufolge wie andernorts in Mitbürgern und Standesgenossen, hier also den

Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and beyond. SAOC 51, Chicago, 1992, 15–26 sowie bes. Lembke, *JDAI* 113, 1998 mit einer Reihe neuer Datierungsvorschläge, die freilich weiterer Erhärtung bedürfen. Der genaue Fund- bzw. Aufstellungsort ist weiterhin unbekannt, vgl. zuletzt Minaya, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I*, 106; für eine mögliche Lokalisierung im Tempelvorhof Clementina Caputo, mündliche Kommunikation. Zu weiteren Funden dieses Typus, wenngleich nicht mehr in Basalt, Davoli, Paola, „Archaeological Research in Roman Soknopaiou Nesos: Results and Perspectives“, in K. Lembke / M. Minas-Nerpel / S. Pfeiffer (Hg.), *Tradition and Transformation. Egypt under Roman Rule* (Proc. Intern. Conf. Hildesheim, 3.–6. 7. 2008), Leiden – Boston, 2010, 53–77, bes. 73.

30 Cairo, CG 1191 = Short Texts I 129 A–B (TM#47197), wobei in Horos, Sohn des Harpagathes (so nach der demotischen Inschrift vom 11. 4. 33 auf der Ansichtsseite des Sockels) und Pisois (so nach der Inschrift auf der linken Sockelseite) mitsamt ihren Familien entgegen früherer Auffassung wohl eher die Stifter als die Dargestellten zu erkennen sind; so allerdings auch noch Lembke, *JDAI* 113, 1998, 112 f. 128 Nr. 22. Zum Kult vergöttlichter Menschen im Fayum allgem. zuletzt von Lieven, Alexandra, „Of Crocodiles and Men: Real and Alleged Cults of Sobek in the Fayyûm“; in C. Arlt / M. A. Stadler (Hg.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit. Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike*, Wiesbaden, 2013, 87–93; vgl. auch zu weiteren entsprechenden Statuen dies., „Deified Humans“, in J. Dieleman / W. Wendrich (Hg.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3kk97509>, Los Angeles, 2010, 2 f. Sandra Lippert habe ich einmal mehr herzlich für die intensive Auseinandersetzung über die hiermit verbundenen Fragen zu danken.

31 Vgl. nur I. Fay. 77–80 mit pl. 57–61, wobei nach Bingen, Jean, „Statuaire égyptienne et épigraphie grecque: le cas de I. Fay. I 78“, in W. Clarysse / A. Schoors / H. Willems (Hg.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* I, OLA 84, Leuven, 1998, 311–319 = ders., *Pages d'épigraphie grecque II. Égypte (1983–2002)*, Bruxelles, 2005, 11–19 Nr. 75, bes. 312 f. bzw. 12 f. das einzige Datum in I. Fay. 78 = SB I 2076, 4 (ἔτους) θ, Χο(ιὰκ) ς zu lesen ist (= SEG XXVI 1752), was nach der von Lembke, *JDAI* 113, 1998, 115. 128 erschlossenen Datierung in augusteische Zeit dem 3. 12. 22 v. Chr. entspräche.

32 So bes. Bingen, *ibidem*.

33 Bianchi, in Johnson (Hg.), *Life in a multi-cultural society*, 25.

34 Beides bei Lembke, *JDAI* 113, 1998, 126 in der Zusammenfassung.

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übrigen Dorfbewohnern und der lokalen Priesterschaft zu sehen haben. Wie es sich mit der Rezeption in den folgenden Generationen und vor allem auswärtiger Besucher verhielt, ist freilich eine ganz andere Frage. Denn immerhin entspräche eben dies den Deutungsmustern, wie sie sich für die Sehgewohnheiten im griechischen Osten aus den zeitgenössischen Quellen erschließen ließen. Wer daher Jahrzehnte später mit den geläufigen Vorstellungen hochkaiserzeitlicher Repräsentationskunst von außen als Besucher hierher kam, mochte in diesen Figuren durchaus die ihm vertrauten Ehrenstatuen lokaler Honoratioren erblicken.

Der Umstand, daß es zu Beginn der Römerzeit bedeutsame Investitionen im baulichen Bereich und überhaupt der Außendarstellung gab, steht als solches jedenfalls nicht in Zweifel. Damit scheint zugleich eine Intensivierung des Festbetriebs einhergegangen zu sein, der das eigentliche Herz von Soknopaiu Nesos und gerade auch für die Siedlung ein gewichtiger Teil ihrer Existenzgrundlage war. Mit alldem trug er nicht nur wesentlich zur allgemeinen Steigerung der Wirtschaftskraft bei, sondern wurde offenbar sogar zum entscheidenden Faktor für die so ungewohnte langanhaltende Prosperität.

Der erhebliche Aufwand, den dies erforderte, und die damit verbundenen Anstrengungen kommen schon in der – allerdings stark fragmentierten – Petition zum Ausdruck, mit der die Priester den Präfekten C. Turranius kurz vor der Jahrtausendwende um Verschonung vor neuen Belastungen baten. Durch die hohen Kosten für Feste und Prozessionen, zumal für Bekleidungsfeiern und Kaiserkult, sähen sie sich bereits an den Grenzen ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit; die ohnehin schwierige Situation werde durch die problematische Wasserversorgung noch verschärft; die Kultdienste erzwängen jedoch ihre permanente Anwesenheit, so daß sie im Unterschied zur übrigen Dorfbevölkerung ihren Lebensunterhalt auch nicht anderweitig aufbringen könnten.[35]

Feste und Prozessionen hielten allerdings ihrerseits einen Ausweg aus diesem Dilemma bereit, waren sie doch durchaus geeignet, auch Besucher von außen anzuziehen und damit neue Einkommensquellen vor Ort zu erschließen; so zumal über das hiermit nahezu untrennbar verbundene Orakelwesen.[36] Diese Chance scheinen die Priester von Soknopaiu Nesos rasch erkannt und genutzt zu haben, wie eine unserer frühesten griechischen Orakelfragen zeigt, mit der sich Asklepiades, Sohn des Areios am 26. 4. 6 n. Chr. nach seinen Aussichten bei der geschiedenen Tapetheus erkundigt.[37] In Name wie Sprache deuten sich bereits die neuen Tendenzen an, denn die an den zahlreichen demotischen Anfragen ablesbare Beliebtheit des Orakels von Soknopaiu Nesos schon unter den Ptolemäern scheint in römischer Zeit nochmals gestiegen zu sein.[38] Nur selten sind in den griechischsprachigen Orakelbitten Dorfbewohner, um so mehr aber Auswärtige anzutreffen, von denen manche

35 So jedenfalls CPR VII 1 (7–4 v. Chr.; = TM#9877).

36 Vgl. hierzu nur TALLET, Gaëlle, „Oracles“, in Ch. Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2012, 398–418.

37 Nämlich in dem vielfach behandelten W. Chr. 122 = PGM II² XXXb = TOTTI, Maria, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion*, Hildesheim, 1985, 131 Nr. 51 (TM# 15150). Mißverständlich insofern STADLER, Martin Andreas, *Théologie et culte au temple de Soknopaios : Études sur la religion d’un village égyptien pendant l’époque romaine (Quatre séminaires à l’École pratique des Hautes Études Section des Sciences religieuses mai–juin 2015)*, Paris, 2017, 82 Anm. 235, der allein auf die ägyptischsprachige Evidenz abstellt.

38 Vgl. nur zuletzt CAPASSO, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaios*, 104 ff.

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sehr wohl aus der Gauhauptstadt oder auch anderen Gauen stammen mochten.[39] Insofern wird man doch wieder auf die Einschätzung von Willy Clarysse zurückkommen wollen, wonach der Übergang von den in ptolemäischer Zeit noch üblichen demotischen zu nunmehr griechischen Orakelfragen als wichtiges Indiz „not only of the interest which the Greeks had in Egyptian religion, but also of the openness of the Egyptian temples and clergy to their Greek clientele" zu werten sei.[40] Wie in anderen Heiligtümern wurde in der hohen Kaiserzeit für den Publikumsverkehr sogar nochmals eine eigene Kultstelle an der Rückseite des Tempels geschaffen, die als Gegentempel mit Orakelfunktion diente.[41]

Vermutlich wird man hier auch die erst 2010 entdeckte Stele einordnen dürfen, die einen dreiköpfigen thronenden Gott mit *Was*-Szepter in der Linken und *Anch*-Zeichen in der Rechten zwischen zwei ebenfalls mit der Doppelkrone von Ober- und Unterägypten ausgestatteten Horusfalken zeigt.[42] Die außergewöhnliche Darstellung der Gottheit sorgte von Beginn an für höchste Aufmerksamkeit, ist doch ihr menschliches Gesicht frontal dem

39 So v.a. aufgrund der Onomastik, vgl. jetzt auch JÖRDENS, in Davoli / Pellé (Hg.), *Πολυμάθεια*, bes. 257 f. mit Anm. 21 sowie zuletzt DIES., „So heißt man nicht? Bemerkungen zum Namen Strenion", *Festschrift N.N. I* (im Druck).

40 CLARYSSE, Willy, „Bilingual texts and collaboration between demoticists and papyrologists", in *Atti XVII Congr. Intern. Pap. Napoli, 19.–26. 5 1983*, Napoli, 1984, III 1345–1353, bes. 1348. Auf die seither äußest kontrovers geführten Diskussionen des dort noch als „most interesting though usually ignored" beschriebenen Phänomens sei lediglich hingewiesen. Betont sei dabei auch, daß ‚griechisch' und ‚ägyptisch' in diesem Zusammenhang im wesentlichen als kulturelle Konzepte zu verstehen sind, denen gegenüber die ethnischen Konnotationen in den Hintergrund traten – wie nach einer mehr als 300jährigen griechischen Siedlungsgeschichte in Ägypten ohnehin nur noch sehr bedingt von ethnischen Griechen zu sprechen sein dürfte, was in jedem Fall das ‚platte Land', mutmaßlich aber nicht nur dieses, betrifft.

41 So schon vermutet von STADLER, Martin Andreas, „Interpreting the architecture of the temenos: Demotic papyri and the cult in Soknopaiou Nesos", in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I*, 379–386, bes. 384, der aufgrund der soeben aufgefundenen Hathorkapitelle für das an der Rückseite des Tempels situierte Gebäude ST 203 inzwischen allerdings eine Zuschreibung an Isis erwägt, vgl. nur DERS., *Théologie et culte*, Paris, 2017, 21 sowie bes. 32 f. Zu den jüngst ergrabenen Befunden vgl. jetzt den online zugänglichen Vorbericht unter <http://www.museopapirologico.eu/img/report/2016_report_ita.pdf bzw. ~2016_report_eng.pdf> sowie bes. DAVOLI, Paola, „Il tempio e il suo modello: Nuovi rinvenimenti a Soknopaiou Nesos", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: tra passato e futuro (Pisa, 5/6 giugno 2017)* <http://mediaeventi.unipi.it/category/video/Paola-Davoli-Il-tempio-e-il-suo-modello-nuovi-rinvenimenti-a-Soknopaiou-Nesos/4281ae8eaf5bd983b66d79542664f81e/100>, hier auch nähere Ausführungen zu dem ungewöhnlichen Zuschnitt des aus drei Räumen mit eingeschlossener Kapelle und einer vorgelagerten Säulenhalle bestehenden Gebäudes ST 203, das wahrscheinlich im II. Jhdt. n. Chr. entstand.

42 ST 10/731/3533, mit CAPASSO, Mario / DAVOLI, Paola, „Rapporto dell'Ottava Campagna di Scavo 2010", *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 5, 2011, 71–81, bes. 73; DAVOLI, Paola, „II. L'attività archeologica", in S. Ammirati u.a. (Hg.), *Venti anni di Papirologia a Lecce. Il Centro di Studi Papirologici dal 1992 al 2012*, Lecce, 2012, 4–7, bes. 7; DIES., „Soknopaiou Nesos Project 2007–2010. New Archaeological Discoveries", in Arlt / Stadler (Hg.), *Das Fayyûm*, 51–61, bes. 55 f. mit 61 Fig. 3 (hier auch auf dem Vorderdeckel); DIES., „The temple of Soknopaios and Isis Nepherses at Soknopaiou Nesos (el-Fayyum)", in G. Tallet / Ch. Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose. Mélanges offerts à Françoise Dunand par ses élèves, collègues et amis*. CENiM 9, Montpellier, 2014, 51–68, bes. 58 mit 68 Fig. 8c. Zur Datierung vgl. bereits oben Anm. 19 mit Text; eine Abb. jetzt auch auf dem Rückendeckel von STADLER, *Théologie et culte*, sowie online auf <http://www.drhawass.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/16-11-14_DIME-OBJECTS_0044_NERO-750x535.jpg> (letzter Zugriff Sept. 2017).

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Betrachter zugewandt, während Krokodil- und Falkenkopf an den Seiten gleichsam die Stelle der Ohren einnehmen. Es spricht alles dafür, hierin den Herrn der Insel Soknopaios zu erblicken, der uns auf der nur wenig früheren Weihinschrift für die Umfassungsmauer noch in seiner Tiergestalt als Krokodil mit Falkenkopf entgegentritt.[43] Griechisch geprägten Besuchern mußte seine Repräsentation als thronender Gottkönig fraglos entgegenkommen, während Kleidung, Haltung und Attribute weiterhin keinen Zweifel an seiner Zugehörigkeit zur ägyptischen Götterwelt ließen.[44] Um so mehr Beachtung verdient im vorliegenden Fall die in Ägypten ungewohnte Frontalansicht des Kopfes, die kaum allein als Zugeständnis gegenüber veränderten Sehgewohnheiten zu deuten ist. Der direkte Blick wie auch die eigenwillige Ausgestaltung der göttlichen ‚Ohren' sollten vielmehr eine Nahbeziehung zwischen Gottheit und Gläubigem herstellen, dessen Bitten demnach auf Erhörung rechnen konnten.[45] Dies legt eine Verbindung zu der gut bekannten Funktion des Soknopaios als

43 Vgl. Cairo, CG 9202 = I. Fay. I 73 mit pl. 53 und oben Anm. 18; eine – seitenverkehrte – Abb. auch bei LEMBKE, *Ägyptens späte Blüte,* 39 Abb. 59. Ein falkenköpfiges Krokodil mit der Doppelkrone begegnet nach CAPASSO / DAVOLI, *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 5, 2011, 73 Anm. 5 auch auf den Tonsiegeln ST 04/100/608 und ST 05/251/1092, letzteres noch auf dem Papyrus und daher nach DAVOLI, in Arlt / Stadler (Hg.), *Das Fayyûm*, 55 mit Anm. 17 datierbar auf das 5. Jahr des Tiberius = 18/19 n. Chr.; vgl. auch die Abb. bei DAVOLI, in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 58 mit 67 Fig. 7b sowie STADLER, *Théologie et culte*, 23 f. mit Fig. 4, hier auch 22 f. allgem. zur Ikonographie.

44 Anders dagegen in der hohen Kaiserzeit, wo sich ein mit Strahlenkranz und ägyptischen Kronen ausgestatteter Zeus oder Sarapis erst auf den zweiten Blick durch einen halb im Haupthaar verborgenen Krokodil- sowie Falkenkopf als Erscheinungsform des Krokodilgottes Sobek(-Horus) bzw. Suchos zu erkennen gibt; vgl. bes. das Relief Cairo, CG 27569 = JE 30001 sowie die – stärker fragmentierten – Tafelbilder London, UC 16312; Cairo, JE 31571b und Cairo, JE 38250. Hierzu jetzt bes. RONDOT, Vincent, „Le dieu du relief Caire CG 27569", in Ch. Zivie-Coche / I. Guermeur (Hg.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, 2 Bde., Turnhout, 2012, II 947–963, demzufolge es sich dabei durchweg um erst spät nach Ägypten eingedrungene Gottheiten handele; so auch nochmals eingehend DERS., *Derniers visages des dieux d'Égypte. Iconographies, panthéons et cultes dans le Fayoum hellénisé des II^e^–III^e^ siècles de notre ère*, Paris, 2013, bes. 303 ff., während TALLET, Gaëlle, „Isis, the Crocodiles and the Mysteries of the Nile Floods: Interpreting a Scene from Roman Egypt Exhibited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 30001)", in A. Mastrocinque / C. Giuffrè Scibona (Hg.), *Demeter, Isis, Vesta, and Cybele. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion in Honour of Giulia Sfameni Gasparro*, Stuttgart, 2012, 139–163 recht plausibel für eine Verortung der Darstellung mit all ihrer reichen Symbolik im religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Gefüge des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten argumentiert.

45 Vgl. bereits die eingehende Diskussion bei CAPASSO / DAVOLI, *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 5, 2011, 73; DAVOLI, in Arlt / Stadler (Hg.), *Das Fayyûm*, 55 f.; DIES., in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 58, die als Parallele auf die für das ptolemäische und römische Faijum typische Darstellung des Premarres bzw. Amenophis III., Mestasytmis (*Msḏr-sḏm* ‚das hörende Ohr') oder Pnepheros (*Pꜣ-nfr-ḥr* ‚der mit dem schönen Gesicht') mit Frontalansicht, auffälligen Ohren und *Nemes*-Kopftuch verweist; vgl. hierzu bes. die Ed. pr. von I. Fay. III 215 bei WAGNER, Guy / QUAEGEBEUR, Jan, „Une dédicace grecque au dieu égyptien Mestasytmis de la part de son synode (Fayoum - Époque romaine)", *BIFAO* 73, 1973, 41–60 sowie BRESCIANI, Edda, „Iconografia e culto di Premarres nel Fayum", *EVO* 9, 1986, 49–58, bes. 53; VOLOKHINE, Youri, *La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne*. CSEG 6, Genève 2000, bes. 100 f.; von hier aus offenbar auch eingegangen in die Darstellung der in Gestalt einer Sphinx einherschreitenden, typisch spätzeitlichen Schutzgottheit Tutu, vgl. nur KAPER, Olaf E., *The Egyptian God Tutu. A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments*. OLA 119, Leuven u.a., 2003, 35. 38. 198 und bes. 65 f.; allgem. auch VOLOKHINE, Youri, „Dessins atypiques : entorses aux proportions classiques et frontalité", in G. Andreu-Lanoë (Hg.), *L'art du contour. Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris, 2013, 58–65, bes. 65;

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Orakelgott nahe,[46] paßt sich aber zugleich bestens in die üblicherweise unter dem Begriff der ‚persönlichen Frömmigkeit' gefaßten religiösen Strömungen des spätzeitlichen Ägypten ein, die wir in den verschiedensten Ausprägungen schließlich in der ganzen hellenistischen und römischen Welt verbreitet finden.[47]

Auch dies verweist freilich darauf, daß wir uns hier nicht mehr in einer ausschließlich traditionell geprägten Lebenswelt bewegen, in der ägyptische Priester in aller Abgeschiedenheit dieselben uralten Riten vollzogen wie schon Jahrtausende zuvor und auf diese Weise eine ägyptische Identität auch unter den veränderten Bedingungen einer neuen Zeit zu bewahren suchten. Schon das breite Spektrum an Namen, die in den Orakelanfragen begegnen und nicht zu dem bekannt begrenzten Repertoire dieses rein ägyptischen Ortes passen, verrät vielmehr den überregionalen Einzugsbereich. In dieselbe Richtung weist die Fülle der stets aufs neue zutage tretenden Amulette, die keineswegs nur für den lokalen Bedarf geschaffen sein konnten, sondern offenbar zum Verkauf gedacht waren.[48] Es bestätigt

TALLET, in Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, 410. Nach DAVOLI, in Arlt / Stadler (Hg.), *Das Fayyûm*, 55 können die Abweichungen bei der Stele ST 10/731/3533 hinsichtlich Krone und Krokodil- bzw. Falkenkopf anstelle der Ohren „be interpreted as variants probably determined by the need to represent the two animal heads strictly connected with Soknopaios' iconography", vgl. ähnlich auch schon DIES., *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 5, 2011, 73. Durch die Positionierung von Krokodil- und Falkenkopf eben am Platz der menschlichen Ohren dürfte ihre Rolle indessen unmittelbar begreiflich gewesen sein, wenn dies nicht gar ihre Symbolkraft noch erhöhte.

46 So jedenfalls CAPASSO / DAVOLI, *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 5, 2011, 73; DAVOLI, in Ammirati u.a. (Hg.), *Venti anni*, 7; DIES., in Arlt / Stadler (Hg.), *Das Fayyûm*, 56; DIES., in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 58. So auch in den Papyri, vgl. nur zuletzt STADLER, *Théologie et culte*, 21 f., der auf der Stele gleichwohl den allumfassenden Schöpfergott dargestellt sehen möchte („en tant que divinité 'panthéiste', cosmique, le créateur solaire", 26); zu den entsprechenden Eigenschaften auch bereits DAVOLI, in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 58. Anders als im Fall des Tutu, dessen Funktion als Orakelgott nach KAPER, *The Egyptian God Tutu*, 151 f. bislang nur an einigen Orten sicher nachweisbar ist, steht dies hier angesichts der reichen Zeugnisse jedenfalls außer Frage.

47 So in Ägypten vornehmlich seit dem Neuen Reich, vgl. allgem. LUISELLI, Maria Michela, „Images of Personal Religion in Ancient Egypt: An Outline", in M. M. Luiselli / J. Mondt / St. Gripentrog (Hg.), *Kult und Bild: Die bildliche Dimension des Kultes im Alten Orient, in der Antike und in der Neuzeit*, Würzburg, 2013, 13–39; TALLET, Gaëlle / ZIVIE-COCHE, Christiane, „Imported Cults", in Ch. Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2012, 436–456, zu der unter die „new iconographic codes" gerechneten Frontalansicht bes. 450 f. sowie zusammenfassend 452; mit Fokus auf den hiermit verbundenen Entwicklungen im Orakelwesen bes. QUAEGEBEUR, Jan †, „*L'appel au divin : le bonheur des hommes mis dans la main des dieux*", in J.-G. Heintz (Hg.), Oracles et prophéties dans l'Antiquité (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 15–17 juin 1995), Paris, 1997, 15–34, worin die Zugewandtheit des Gottes besonderen Ausdruck fand; hierzu auch VOLOKHINE, Youri, „Une désignation de la « face divine » *ḥꜣwt, ḥꜣwty*", *BIFAO* 101, 2001, 369–391, bes. 381 ff. Zu den Entwicklungen in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit jetzt bes. STAVRIANOPOULOU, Eftychia, „From the God Who Listened to the God Who Replied: Transformations in the Concept of *epekoos*", in C. Bonnet / V. Pirenne-Delforge / G. Pironti (Hg.), *Dieux des Grecs, dieux des Romains. Panthéons en dialogue à travers l'histoire et l'historiographie*, Bruxelles – Roma, 2016, 79–97, deren Erörterung der Memnonskolosse in diesem Zusammenhang (so bes. 87 ff.) mit Blick auf die in Anm. 45 genannte Lit. zu Mestasytmis nochmals besondere Beachtung verdient, da beides sich offenbar stark an der Darstellung Amenophis' III. orientiert.

48 So bereits DAVOLI, in Ammirati u.a. (Hg.), *Venti anni*, 7; hierzu bes. CAPASSO, Mario, „Alcuni papiri figurati magici recentemente trovati a Soknopaiou Nesos", *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 14, 2005, 49–66 sowie zuletzt DERS., in Derda u.a. (Hg.), *Proc. 27th Intern. Congr. Pap.*, III 1478.

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sich aber auch in Einzelfunden wie dem in jeder Hinsicht außergewöhnlichen Öllämpchen in Gestalt eines Kentauren mit noch späthellenistischen Zügen[49] oder einem Tonsiegel, das die Dioskuren mit ihren Pferden zeigt, wobei sich hierunter – so zumal im Faijum – nicht selten Krokodilgötter verbargen, die offenbar bevorzugt als Zwillingspaar verehrt wurden.[50] Erstaunlich gering ist dagegen die Zahl der sonst so beliebten Terrakottafiguren, was sich vor allem daraus erklären dürfte, daß in den Heiligtümern erworbene Devotionalien in der Regel zu Andachtszwecken oder auch als bloßes Souvenir mit heim genommen wurden.[51]

Gewiß wissen wir nicht immer, was Fremde zu einem Besuch veranlaßte wie Sopatros, der bereits am 5. 12. 7 n. Chr. im Grapheion von Soknopaiu Nesos ein Darlehen von 100 Drachmen an Ptolemaios beurkunden ließ.[52] In anderen Fällen liegt der Zusammenhang mit dem Kult- und Festbetrieb jedoch nahe, wie bei dem hier deponierten römischen Reiterschwert, das vielleicht sogar noch aus vorchristlicher Zeit datiert,[53] oder der Opferbescheinigung für einen römischen Bürger.[54] Mitunter konnten sich hieraus sogar längerfristige Wirtschaftsbeziehungen entwickeln, wenn etwa Alexandriner als Teilhaber in die vor Ort

49 Vgl. CUVIGNY, Hélène, „Un centaure provincial. À propos d'une lampe plastique d'Égypte“, *BIFAO* 87, 1987, 125–133; zu dem in Ägypten durchaus seltenen Motiv auch CAPASSO, Mario / DAVOLI, Paola, „Due sigilli in legno e una lucerna con centauromachia di Eracle da *Soknopaiou Nesos* (El-Fayyum, Egitto)“, in M. Lombardo / C. Marangio (Hg.), *Antiquitas. Scritti di storia antica in onore di Salvatore Alessandrì*, Galatina, 2011, 47–56, bes. 50 ff., wonach es sich bei dem Öllämpchen ST 07/407/1859 aus dem I./II. Jhdt. um die Darstellung des Herakles im Kampf mit einem Kentauren handele, während DIXNEUF, Delphine, „Introduction à la céramique de Soknopaiou Nesos“, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I*, 315–361, bes. 339 sowie 355 mit Nr. 235 vorsichtiger nur von einem „animal fantastique“ spricht.

50 Vgl. DAVOLI, in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 57 sowie die Abb. 67 mit Fig. 7a; zu den Krokodilgötterpaaren bes. KOCKELMANN, Holger, „Sobek doppelt und dreifach. Zum Phänomen der Krokodilgötterkonstellationen im Fayum und in anderen Kultorten Ägyptens“, in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (Hg.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology* (Proceedings of the Third International Fayum Symposion Freudenstadt, 29. 5. – 1. 6. 2007), Wiesbaden, 2008, 153–164; zuletzt TALLET / ZIVIE-COCHE, in Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, 446 ff.

51 Vgl. nur TALLET / ZIVIE-COCHE, in Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, 450 f.; zu den Neufunden jetzt CAPUTO, Clementina, „Le terrecotte figurate“, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I*, 363–375.

52 So in SB I 5243 (= TM#13988). Die Annahme, daß im Fall des Kaufvertrages M. Chr. 159 = CPR I 4 (7. 8. 52), den Artemidoros, Sohn des Artemidoros mit der Teilhaberin einer Erbengemeinschaft über ein Fünftel eines ψιλὸς τόπος neben der örtlichen Müllhalde und also mit Erweiterungsmöglichkeiten schließt, ein Bauvorhaben für die Unterbringung von Besuchern zu erwägen sei – so JÖRDENS, in Davoli – Pellé (Hg.), *Πολυμάθεια*, 261 mit Anm. 41 –, dürfte Sandra Lippert zufolge, der ich herzlich für den Austausch hierüber danke, allerdings nicht aufrechtzuerhalten sein, da es sich um ein ideelles Fünftel handelt und weitere ideelle Anteile desselben Anwesens ungefähr im selben Zeitraum an einen anderen Käufer gingen. Für bemerkenswert bleibt gleichwohl zu halten, daß Artemidoros nach Z. 23 f. ausdrücklich die volle Verfügungsfreiheit über das fragliche Fünftel einschließlich Verpfändung, Veräußerung usw. zugesichert wird.

53 Vgl. bereits DAVOLI, Paola, „Lo scavo archeologico: 2003–2009“, in Capasso / Davoli (Hg.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I*, 119–227, bes. 206 f. sowie jetzt DIES. / MIKS, Christian, „A New ‘Roman’ Sword from Soknopaiou Nesos (El-Fayyum, Egypt). ISAW Papers 9, 2015 <http://dlib.nyu.edu/awdl/isaw/isaw-papers/9/>.

54 So C. Papirius Maximus in SB XXVIII 17058 = P. Fay. 244 descr. (22. 3. 162–169; = TM#10813).

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betriebene Kamelzucht einstiegen.[55] All diese Leute müssen den beschwerlichen Weg nach Soknopaiu Nesos auf sich genommen haben, um eben dorthin zu gelangen, da es als bloßer Zwischenhalt auf dem Weg zu anderen Zielen weder tauglich noch vorstellbar ist. Die Anziehungskraft des Heiligtums allein reicht dabei zur Erklärung kaum aus, vielmehr kann nur der Festbetrieb eine solche bieten.

Tatsächlich scheint er sich im Laufe der Zeit zu einer regelrechten Eventkultur entwickelt zu haben. Nicht nur, daß er sich unter den Antoninen nach Ausweis der Haushaltsbücher über mehr als die Hälfte des Jahres erstreckte,[56] auch das Programm muß entsprechend attraktiv gewesen sein. Bekanntlich enthielten schon die Kulthandlungen selbst stets auch zahlreiche öffentliche Elemente, die Gläubige wie Schaulustige gleichermaßen anzogen. Zu den mit großem Pomp durchgeführten und von Musik und Tanz begleiteten Götterprozessionen dürfte sich je länger, je mehr eine Fülle von Schauvorführungen und sonstigen Spektakeln aller Art hinzugesellt haben. Auf die besonders aufwendigen Bekleidungsfeiern hatten schon die Priester in ihrem Schreiben an C. Turranius hingewiesen.[57] Einen weiteren Höhepunkt bildeten zweifellos die mit der Wiedergeburt des Osiris verbundenen Zeremonien, die sich ebenso wie in anderen Heiligtümern auf dem Dach des Tempels abgespielt haben werden.[58] Selbst wenn dies für Außenstehende als solches nicht zu verfolgen war, muß sich die eigenartige Atmosphäre doch auch den nicht direkt Beteiligten mitgeteilt und für Momente allseitiger Spannung gesorgt haben; abgesehen davon spricht alles dafür, daß im Anschluß daran zur Begrüßung des wiederauferstandenen Gottes ausgelassene Jubelfeiern stattfanden. Als neues Format kam im II. Jhdt. n. Chr. möglicherweise noch die szenische Aufführung einer Tempelweihe hinzu, wenn das bei der jüngsten Grabungskampagne entdeckte maßstabsgetreue Modell des Gegentempels tatsächlich dabei eingesetzt wurde, Bau und Weihe nachzuspielen.[59]

Indessen wurden keineswegs nur Feste zu Ehren der traditionellen ägyptischen Gottheiten – hier also des Herrn der ‚Insel' Soknopaios und der Isis in ihren verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen – gefeiert. Vielmehr ging die Priesterschaft durchaus mit der Zeit, wie die im Festkalender aufgelisteten Hermaia, Eleusinia, Rhodophoria oder Heroa zeigen; was immer darunter zu verstehen ist, wird man mit griechischen Elementen doch rechnen dürfen.[60] Eine bunte Mischung ist sicher auch für das insgesamt längste aller Feste anzunehmen, die einen ganzen Monat andauernde πανήγυρις ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ;[61] nicht zu vergessen

55 Vgl. BGU II 427 (5. 1. 159; = TM#9164).

56 Eingehend hierzu jetzt JÖRDENS, in Langellotti / Rathbone (Hg.), *Village Institutions*, bes. Anm. 27 ff. mit Text.

57 CPR VII 1, vgl. oben Anm. 35 mit Text.

58 Vgl. bes. DAVOLI, in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 55 f.; so zuletzt auch STADLER, *Théologie et culte*, 85.

59 So immerhin jetzt erwogen von DAVOLI, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi*.

60 Zu einer möglichen Einordnung der Feste zuletzt JÖRDENS, in Langellotti / Rathbone (Hg.), *Village Institutions*, Anm. 34 ff. mit Text.

61 Hierzu jetzt bes. CAPRON, Laurent, „Déclarations fiscales du temple de Soknopaiou Nèsos : éléments nouveaux", *ZPE* 165, 2008, 133–160, bes. 148 mit Komm. zu der Neulesung in SPP XXII 183, 79 f. (nach 138, 14.–22. 8.; = TM#15096); zu den grundsätzlichen Differenzen zwischen griechisch geprägten πανηγύρεις und traditionellen ἑορταί FRANKFURTER, *Religion*, 58 f.; ebenso DERS., „Religious Practice and Piety", in Ch. Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2012, 319–

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sind große, mit Opfern verbundene Feiern für das Kaiserhaus.[62] Letztlich ist Soknopaiu Nesos als Austragungsort nicht einmal für die zu Ehren von Vespasians Astrologen T. Claudius Balbillus veranstalteten, bislang nur aus Kleinasien bekannten Barbilleia oder Balbilleia und selbst die Pferderennen kategorisch auszuschließen, von denen wir jetzt erstmals aus einem hier ergrabenen Papyrus erfahren;[63] Platz dafür gab es in der Umgebung jedenfalls mehr als genug.

Folgerichtig wird man in dem Festbetrieb nicht etwa nur eine Sache der Priesterschaft vermuten, was die aus Soknopaiu Nesos erhaltenen Verträge mit Unterhaltungskünstlern weiter stützen.[64] Werden in dem frühesten, vom 10. 8. 85 datierenden Dokument die Priester, deren Älteste diese Vereinbarung schließen, durch einen interlinearen Zusatz noch genauer als Verein qualifiziert,[65] treten in der Mitte des II. Jhdts. nurmehr einzelne Vertragspartner auf, die aber offenkundig ebenfalls im Auftrag einer größeren Gruppe agieren.[66] In dem letzten, schon im III. Jhdt. entstandenen Beleg wendet sich schließlich der Vereinsvorsitzende des Dorfes an den lokalen *decurio* mit der Bitte, eine Truppe aus Musikern und Tänzern für das anstehende Fest zu Ehren des Kaiserhauses verpflichten zu dürfen.[67] Dies bestätigt das aus der gesamten griechischen Welt bekannte Bild, wonach sich lokale Organisationen und namentlich Vereine an der Ausgestaltung derartiger Feste zu beteiligen pflegten. Auch in Soknopaiu Nesos stellte sich der Festbetrieb demnach als gemeinsames Unterfangen der gesamten Dorfgemeinschaft dar, was allerdings bei einem derart abgelegenen Ort wie diesem im Grunde auch nicht verwundern kann.

Wie weit all dies von Anfang an intendiert und also programmatisch für die Neugründung war, sei freilich noch dahingestellt. Zu bedenken ist insbesondere der Umstand, daß die traditionellen Zeremonien und Rituale in Ägypten vielfach hinter verschlossenen Türen stattfanden und typischerweise eben nicht der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich waren. In dem hier gezeichneten Bild werden wir daher vielmehr das Ergebnis einer sehr viel längerfristigen Entwicklung zu sehen haben, bei der die Richtung, in die sie sich bewegte, für die Gründergeneration sehr wahrscheinlich noch außerhalb jeder Vorstellungskraft lag. Dennoch scheinen diese Entwicklungen mehr und mehr an Eigendynamik gewonnen zu haben, so daß mit

336, bes. 320 f. zur kaiserzeitlichen Festkultur allgemein.

62 Vgl. P. Alex. Giss. 3 = P. Alex. 6 = SB X 10619 = TEDESCHI, Gennaro, *Intrattenimenti e spettacoli nell'Egitto ellenistico-romano*, Trieste, 2011 <http://hdl.handle.net/10077/5701>, 68 Nr. 10 (nach 201, mit BL X 4; = TM#10078).

63 Vgl. BGU XX 2875 (I./II. Jhdt.; = TM#316238) mit JÖRDENS, in Langellotti / Rathbone (Hg.), *Village Institutions*, Anm. 64.

64 Vgl. TEDESCHI, *Intrattenimenti*, bes. 57 ff., App. I, wonach mit vier von insgesamt 23 Belegen immerhin nahezu ein Fünftel unserer Evidenz aus diesem Ort stammt.

65 Vgl. P. Strasb. V 341 = TEDESCHI, *Intrattenimenti*, 60 f. Nr. 3 (10. 8. 85; = TM#13282), bes. Z. 6–8 τοῖς δυσὶ [πρεσ]βυ̣τέροις `συνόδου´ ἱερέων Σοκνοπαίου θε[οῦ μεγά]λ̣ο̣υ̣ μεγάλου.

66 Vgl. SPP XXII 47 = TEDESCHI, *Intrattenimenti*, 62 Nr. 4 (Mitte II. Jhdt., Aug./Sept.; = TM#15116) sowie P. Lond. II 331 (S. 154 f.) = W. Chr. 495 = TEDESCHI, *Intrattenimenti*, 63 Nr. 5 (1. 10. 165; = TM#11712) mit den Verpflichtungen αὐλῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὧρον καὶ τοῖς σὺ[ν] αὐτῷ in SPP XXII 47, 6 f. bzw. λιτουργῆσαι ἐν τῇ προκιμένῃ κώμῃ in P. Lond. II 331, 6–8.

67 P. Alex. Giss. 3 = P. Alex. 6 = SB X 10619 = TEDESCHI, *Intrattenimenti*, 68 Nr. 10 (nach 201, mit BL X 4; = TM#10078), ausgehend παρὰ Π̣α̣βοῦ̣τ̣ο̣ς [Ὡρίω]νος ἡγουμένο[υ] συνόδου κώ(μης) Σεκνεπαίου Νήσου (Z. 2–4).

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einer zunehmenden Säkularisierung des Festbetriebs zu rechnen ist und nicht zuletzt mit einer sehr viel breiteren Palette der offerierten Unterhaltungsmöglichkeiten, in denen musische und szenische Darbietungen für ein breiteres Publikum eine wichtige Rolle spielten.

Erinnert sei hierbei auch daran, daß in der hohen Kaiserzeit der Rückgriff auf die ‚guten alten Zeiten' mit allerlei Archaismen selbstverständlicher Teil des Diskurses und entsprechend fest im kulturellen Bewußtsein aller Gebildeten verankert war. Insofern kam all dies nicht von ungefähr, lag man damit doch ohne Zweifel im Trend der Zeit. Denn hatten Isis und Sarapis schon im Hellenismus den griechischen Osten und sogar auch Teile des Westens erobert, sollte sich dies unter den Römern weiter fortsetzen, wo überhaupt alles Ägyptische geradezu Hochkonjunktur hatte. Auf die bereits in augusteischer Zeit einsetzende Ägyptomanie, die sich im öffentlichen ebenso wie im privaten Bereich, in Bauten wie der Cestiuspyramide, den Wanddekorationen des späten 2. und vor allem 3. Stils oder auch der Kleinkunst niederschlug und nicht nur Rom selbst, sondern ebenso italische Provinzstädte erfaßte, hat erneut schon Katja Lembke hingewiesen.[68] Mit der Einverleibung Ägyptens in das Römische Reich eröffneten sich plötzlich ganz neue Möglichkeiten, diese gleichermaßen fremdartige wie faszinierende Kultur und Religion in ihrer originalen Umgebung kennenzulernen und ihr dadurch noch einmal näher zu kommen. So sollten römische Touristen wie L. Trebonius Oricula und C. Numonius Vala noch vor der Jahrtausendwende ihren Namen am ersten Pylon von Philae hinterlassen,[69] der Adoptivsohn des Tiberius und präsumptive Thronfolger Germanicus unternahm ohne vorherige Einwilligung seines Adoptivvaters eine mehrwöchige Sightseeing-Tour bis nach Oberägypten,[70] und die Reise Hadrians ist nicht zuletzt aus den in den Memnonskolossen eingemeißelten Gedichten der Hofdichterin Iulia Balbilla bekannt.[71] Sicherlich konnte Soknopaiu Nesos niemals mit derart weltberühmten Monumenten mithalten. Auf der Liste derer, die sich weniger für Sehenswürdigkeiten als für echt ägyptisches Leben, ‚wie es damals war', interessierten und dabei besonders die schon von Herodot gepriesene Festkultur vor Augen hatten, dürfte es jedoch ziemlich weit oben rangiert haben.[72]

Seit Herodot war freilich mehr als ein halbes Jahrtausend vergangen, und nicht nur der Götterhimmel, auch die Menschenwelt hatten sich gewandelt. Wer etwas auf sich hielt, sprach Griechisch oder gar Latein, trieb Sport im Gymnasion – und las Romane, die vorzugsweise in exotischen Ländern spielten und von ganz wundersamen Dingen und Begegnungen erzählten. Wer daraufhin das Bedürfnis entwickelte, sich selbst an solch ferne Orte

68 LEMBKE, Katja, *Ägyptens späte Blüte. Die Römer am Nil*, Mainz am Rhein, 2004, bes. 13 ff.

69 I. Philae II 147 = CIL III 74 = ILS III 8758 (25. 3. 2 v. Chr.); vgl. auch HÖLBL, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich II*, 52 f. mit Abb. 65.

70 Vgl. nur Tac., Ann. II 59, 1 mit dem ausdrücklichen Hinweis *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*.

71 Vgl. nur I. Memnon 28–31 = SB V 8210–8213 = SEG VIII 715–718 (sämtlich 21. 11. 130); von anderen Mitgliedern der Reisegesellschaft stammen I. Memnon 32 = OGIS II 681 = IGRR I 1186 = SB V 8342 sowie I. Memnon 33 = IGRR I 1201 = SB V 8341. Zu den Reisen des Germanicus und Hadrians und den damit verbundenen organisatorischen Fragen bes. JÖRDENS, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung*, 243 f., zu den mit dem Besuch der Memnonskolosse verbundenen religiösen Implikationen jetzt STAVRIANOPOULOU, in Bonnet / Pirenne-Delforge / Pironti (Hg.), *Dieux des Grecs*, 87 ff.

72 Zu entsprechenden Reiseanlässen FOERTMEYER, Victoria A., *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, phil. Diss. Princeton, 1989, bes. 208 ff.

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zu begeben und eigene Abenteuer zu erleben, konnte dies relativ gefahrlos tun, da angesichts der allgemein herrschenden *pax Romana* allenfalls Naturgewalten noch zu fürchten waren. Während sich die einen in die Mysterien einweihen ließen, reisten die anderen nach Sparta, um den archaischen Ritualen der Artemis Orthia beizuwohnen, und die dritten an den Nil.[73] Dort gaben sie sich aber nicht etwa mit Alexandria, Theben oder Philae zufrieden, sondern wollten das ‚richtige' Ägypten kennenlernen und am besten mit eigenen Augen sehen, wie es sich mit den tiergestaltigen Gottheiten verhielt und wie noch immer leinengekleidete Priester unter höchst fremdartigen Gesängen Prozessionen durchführten.

Hierfür war das abgelegene Soknopaiu Nesos gleich in mehrfacher Hinsicht ideal, wo der hochgelegte Dromos, nach Paola Davoli „thought to be a monumental and spectacular scene for the processions during the numerous local feasts",[74] auch den hinteren Reihen freie Sicht auf das Geschehen erlaubte; eine Lokalität, die gegenüber mondäneren Orten außerdem den unschätzbaren Vorzug des vermeintlich Echten und Urwüchsigen besaß. Vor allem mußte man nicht, um dahinzugelangen, gleich den ganzen Nil hinabfahren, und zudem war es zwar mühsam, aber doch ganzjährig zugänglich. Der ungewohnte Weg durch die Wüste – ob über das Faijum nach Westen am Moerissee entlang oder gar von Terenuthis im Delta über die direkte Linie nach Süden – mag dabei bereits eine Art Initiation dargestellt haben, gleichsam ein Tor, durch das der Besucher in eine ganz andere Welt eintrat. Dennoch hielten sich die Fremdheiten angenehmerweise in Grenzen, da man doch auch hier Griechisch sprach, es die vertrauten Ehrenstatuen verdienter Honoratioren gab – zwar mit typisch ägyptischen Zügen, aber doch grundsätzlich lesbaren Inschriften – und nicht zuletzt ganz verschiedene Formate von Festen bereitgestellt wurden, die für jeden Geschmack etwas boten. Auch für das leibliche Wohl war gesorgt, wie aus der reichen Fülle an Scherben erhellt, die Importe von Öl- und Weinamphoren aus nahezu dem gesamten Mittelmeerraum bezeugen.[75] Für den kaiserzeitlichen Durchschnittsbürger muß dieses Dorf, in dem das Fest geradezu der Normalzustand war und eine längst vergangen geglaubte Welt mit Tiergöttern und einer vielköpfigen Priesterschaft leibhaftig vor Augen trat, von geradezu umwerfenden Charme gewesen sein. Gläubige wie Touristen tauchten ganz in diese Atmosphäre ein und konnten für einige Tage alles um sich herum vergessen.

Dies läßt an das heutige Interesse am Mittelalter denken, ob in der Form von Mittelaltermärkten oder Rittermählern, die vorzugsweise auf Burgen stattfinden; bei den immer beliebteren Reenactments kann man sich sogar selbst um Jahrhunderte zurückversetzen lassen und die Lebensformen einer früheren Welt erproben. Ein noch ähnlicheres Konzept treffen wir allerdings bei Disneyland an, diesem Abbild der heilen Welt von gestern, in dem aus früher Lektüre vertraute Figuren unvermutet Gestalt annehmen und Mythen Realität gewinnen. Zwar bot die erste Gründung, die Walt Disney 1955 noch selbst im kalifornischen Anaheim vornahm, von Beginn an mehr als nur einen ‚Themenpark' und war mit 34 ha statt der gut 23 ha von Soknopaiu Nesos auch fast um die Hälfte größer. Nicht zufällig hatte aber auch Disney – damals inmitten von Feldern, heute längst von der

73 Vgl. dazu demnächst JÖRDENS, Andrea, „Festbetrieb als Wirtschaftsfaktor", *Festschrift N.N. II.*

74 DAVOLI, in Tallet / Zivie-Coche (Hg.), *Le myrte et la rose*, 51.

75 Persönliche Mitteilung von Clementina Caputo, der ich für die hierüber geführten Diskussionen sehr herzlich danke.

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Bebauung eingeholt – eine Art Insel geschaffen, was ihm freilich nur durch einen eigens aufgeschütteten Schutzwall gelang; besondere Anstrengungen wurden überdies dem möglichst effektvollen Übergang von der Außen- zur Innenwelt gewidmet.[76] Das Konzept – was immer die ursprünglichen Absichten waren, nach einem berühmten Dictum jedoch schon bald „less an amusement park than a state of mind“[77] – scheint jedenfalls bestens zu funktionieren, sonst würden nicht rund um den Globus ständig neue Disneywelten entstehen.

Dies mögen nicht wenige der Besucher von Soknopaiu Nesos durchaus ähnlich empfunden haben, wobei die religiöse Komponente hier zweifellos noch ein übriges tat. Dabei ist ebenso wenig mit von Anfang an verfolgten Plänen zu rechnen, vielmehr dürfte sich die Entwicklung auch hier im Laufe der Zeit verselbständigt haben, bis der Zuschnitt des Ortes womöglich nur noch äußerlich dem der einstmaligen Kultstätte ähnlich war. Wie eng das Geschick von Soknopaiu Nesos am Ende mit diesem Konzept verbunden war, zeigt schließlich aber auch sein lange rätselhafter Untergang.[78] Denn vermutlich waren es Festteilnehmer oder auch Heilungssuchende, die in den späten 170er Jahren die sog. antoninische Pest oder besser Pocken in diesen abgelegenen Ort hineintrugen, wobei die Besuchermassen die Ansteckungsgefahr signifikant erhöhten. So fiel dem innerhalb nur weniger Wochen jeder dritte der rund 250 Priester zum Opfer, und selbst wenn sich der Ort in der Folgezeit wieder erholen sollte, war der frühere Glanz doch auf immer verloren.

Nur 20 Jahre später kam mit dem Verbot allen Orakel- und Prozessionswesens durch Q. Aemilius Saturninus der nächste schwere Schlag, der gerade dem Kerngeschäft weiteren Boden entziehen sollte. Noch gravierender wirkten sich allerdings die von Septimius Severus eingeleiteten politischen Reformen aus, denn die frisch mit der Ratsverfassung ausgestatteten Gauhauptstädte richteten ihrerseits überall Spiele ein. Damit begannen seit dem Jahr 200 ganz neue Arten der Vergnügungen Platz zu greifen. Dieser Konkurrenz vermochte Soknopaiu Nesos nicht auf Dauer standzuhalten, denn mit den veränderten Interessen und Sehgewohnheiten blieben mehr und mehr Besucher aus. Eine Generation später gestanden sich auch die letzten noch ausharrenden Bewohner ein, daß auf eine Besserung der Lage nicht mehr zu hoffen war, und sollten andernorts ihr Glück versuchen. Damit kehrte Soknopaiu Nesos zu seiner eigentlichen Daseinsform zurück, immer nur befristet menschlichem Leben Aufenthalt zu bieten und in erster Linie ein heiliger Ort zu sein, an dem Prie-

76 Vgl. nur FINDLAY, John M., *Magic Lands. Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1992, bes. 52–116 „Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth“; VOLLMAR, Rainer, *Anaheim – Utopia Americana. Vom Weinland zum Walt Disney-Land. Eine Stadtbiographie,* Stuttgart, 1998, bes. 117–150. Zur Bedeutung des ebenso be- wie ausgrenzenden sog. „berm“, auf dem die – wie auch alles andere im Maßstab reduzierten – Dampfeisenbahnen der „Disneyland Railroad“ die ursprüngliche Anlage umrunden, FINDLAY, *Magic Lands*, 62, sowie VOLLMAR, *Anaheim*, 123; vgl. auch 241, wonach nicht zuletzt der „begrünte( ) Wall“ – der sich mit dem unerwarteten Erfolg des Unternehmens schon bald als Hindernis für die immer wieder aufkommenden Expansionswünsche erwies – als Distinktionsmerkmal für den inzwischen ganz im Großraum Los Angeles aufgegangenen Ort Anaheim dient, sowie 143 f. zur Gestaltung des Eingangsbereichs, der die Besucher „auf der anderen Seite … in einer ganz anderen Welt und Umgebung“ (143) sich wiederfinden läßt.

77 So die seither vielzitierte Darstellung des Los Angeles-Korrespondenten der New York Times Gladwin Hill vom 2. 2. 1958 bzw. 4. 10. 1959, hier nach FINDLAY, *Magic Lands*, 66.

78 Hierzu wie zum folgenden jetzt JÖRDENS, in Davoli – Pellé (Hg.), *Πολυμάθεια.*

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ster und vielleicht später auch Einsiedler oder Mönche mit der Gottheit in Verbindung traten.

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Legal and Administrative Texts from Tebtunis in the Carlsberg Collection

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When we refer to the demotic papyri in the Carlsberg Collection in Copenhagen, it is nearly always the material from the great temple library at Tebtunis that is mentioned. This is perhaps not surprising, as this is the largest single assemblage of ancient literary texts ever found in Egypt.[1] It does not, however, give a true picture of the range of papyri in the Collection, for there is also a considerable quantity of legal and administrative papyri. When the International Committee for the Publication of the Carlsberg Papyri (the ICPCP) was formed in 1989, the first publication to come out of this initiative included fragments from two different demotic legal manuals.[2] Subsequent editions of documentary demotic texts from the Collection include the long account papyrus from the wine magazine of the Edfu temple,[3] some oracle questions,[4] five receipts for the temple-tax from the Roman period,[5] and a letter,[6] but little else.[7]

1 For the background to the Collection, cf. ZAUZICH, Karl-Theodor, "Einleitung", in P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *Demotic Texts from the Collection*. The Carlsberg Papyri 1. CNIP 15, Copenhagen, 1991, p. 1–11; RYHOLT, Kim, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report", in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 141–170.

2 P.Carlsberg 236 and 301; cf. TAIT, W. John, "P. Carlsberg 236: Another Fragment of a Demotic Legal Manual", and CHAUVEAU, Michel, "P. Carlsberg 301: Le manuel juridique de Tebtynis", in Frandsen (ed.), *Demotic Texts*, p. 93–101, 103–127.

3 SCHENTULEIT, Maren, *Aus der Buchhaltung des Weinmagazins im Edfu-Tempel: Der demotische P. Carlsberg 409*. The Carlsberg Papyri 9. CNIP 32, Copenhagen, 2006; cf. also RYHOLT, Kim, "A Greek-Demotic Temple Archive from Edfu Dating to the Reign of Ptolemy VIII", *ZPE* 190 (2014), p. 173–187.

4 ZAUZICH, Karl-Theodor, "Die demotischen Orakelfragen – eine Zwischenbilanz", in P.J. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000, p. 6–9.

5 RYHOLT, Kim, "Demotic Receipts for Temple-Tax on Property Transfer at Tebtunis in the Roman Period (P. Carlsberg 268, 431, 432, 469, 582; P. Mich. Inv. 664; P. Botti II)", in F. Hoffmann / H.J. Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich*. StudDem 6, Leuven / Paris / Dudley, MA, 2004, p. 509–533.

6 SCHENTULEIT, Maren, "‚Mach Dich nicht lustig über eine Sache, die eine Kuh betrifft': Der Dienstbrief P. Carlsberg 430", in S.L. Lippert / M.A. Stadler (eds.), *Gehilfe des Thot: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zu einem 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 95–104.

7 There are a considerable number of self-dedication texts in the Collection. These are in the process of being edited for publication and their content is discussed in some recent articles; cf. RYHOLT, Kim, "A Self-Dedication Addressed to Anubis", in R. Nyord / K. Ryholt (eds.), *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen*. CNIP 39, Copenhagen, 2015,

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One of the reasons why these legal and administrative texts have been neglected is their sadly very fragmentary state and, unlike the narrative and cultic papyri, there appear to be few joins to be made. The material, however, is very plentiful. A catalogue to include all the papyri that are deemed worthy of publication is currently being prepared by Kim Ryholt and myself. This will obviously include the better preserved texts, but also those fragments that contain unusual or rare formulae or phrases or hitherto unknown personal names. It is currently expected to contain around 90 papyri. These belong to the following categories:

- Legal papyri, which cover a wide variety of genres, including annuity documents, texts relating to dowries, sales, use of a property and leases;
- Letters;
- Documents relating to tender;
- Miscellaneous temple documents, for example instructions from a lesonis, a list of phyles, the possible appointment of a priest;
- Receipts;
- A royal oath;
- Accounts; and
- Some fragmentary dating protocols.

Most of these texts date to the Ptolemaic period, typically the second and first centuries, but there are a few papyri that are Roman, including one as late as 138/9 CE.[8] The bulk of the Tebtunis material in Copenhagen was purchased from Maurice Nahman and Jean Tano in several lots in the 1930s, so it seems likely that it can all be assigned to the same illicit excavation(s).[9] We should add that this supposition is supported by the Tebtunis material in the British Museum, which also came from Nahman,[10] as in some cases it has been possible to establish joins between the British Museum and Copenhagen fragments. The volume is nearing completion, but we thought it would be of interest if we highlighted some of the more interesting information to be gleaned from the material.[11]

p. 329–350; IDEM, "Two Self-Dedications Addressed to Isis-Nephersais of Euhemeria (P. Cairo CG 50018 and P. Louvre E 10606)", in K. Donker van Heel / F.A.J. Hoogendijk / C.J. Martin (eds.), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*. P.L.Bat. 34, Leiden / Boston, p. 205–218.

8 P. Carlsberg 268+582+780. P. Carlsberg 582 and 268 were originally published by RYHOLT, in Hoffmann / Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium*, texts 60 and 62, p. 524–526, 527–528, but it has subsequently been possible to join the two together with a new fragment. In addition, one of the receipts, P. Carlsberg 432, published *ibidem*, text 57, p. 512–514, dates to 151/52 CE.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 510; HAGEN, Fredrik / RYHOLT, Kim, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930: The H.O. Lange Papers*. Scientia Danica Series H: Humanistica 4, 8, Copenhagen, 2016, p. 127.

10 MARTIN, Cary J., "How to Write a Demotic Legal Document", in G. Widmer / D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IX^{e} congrès international des études démotiques*. BdE 147, Le Caire, 2009, p. 195.

11 The comments that follow are largely taken from the detail in the manuscript and as such reflect equally the work of both Kim Ryholt and myself. We would like to take this opportunity to thank the participants in the Conference for their observations and, in particular, Sandra Lippert for a number of valuable suggestions.

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P. Carlsberg 550:

This is a fragment of an annuity document drawn up for a member of the Tebtunis priesthood, Phanêsis the Elder (*Pa-n-Ỉs.t ʿꜣ*) son of Peteharpsenêsis (*Pꜣ-dỉ-Ḥr-pꜣ-šr-n-Ỉs.t*), who is a relatively well-known individual.[12] It dates to some time after 145 BCE.[13] There is nothing particularly remarkable about the content of the text,[14] but what is interesting is the title of the scribe, Petosiris (*Pꜣ-dỉ-Wsỉr*) son of Sokonôpis (*Sbk-m-ḥb*), who is called an *ỉmy-wnw.t* (*n*) *Sbk-nb-tn*, which is usually translated by "astronomer / astrologer of Soknebtunis". This Petosiris son of Sokonôpis is also the scribe of the cult-guild documents P. Cairo CG 31179 and 30605 (these date to 147 and 145 BCE), but in these texts he is not referred to as an "astronomer". As we can only date P. Carlsberg 550 to after 145 BCE, we are not in a position to determine when he received the title "astronomer", i.e. whether he received it after he had written the two cult-guild papyri. Why this may be significant is because if we turn to the texts written by another scribe, Haryotes son of Harmiysis, who is attested slightly later, between 128 and 105 BCE, we find that in the two annuity documents and the two *sẖ.w ḏbꜣ ḥḏ* used as security for the *sʿnẖ* of these he also refers to himself as the "astronomer of the temple of Tebtunis".[15] In the other texts written by Haryotes, however, all of which are of later date, this title is not used.[16] This may just be coincidence, but we also find at Hawara two annuity documents written by "astronomers of Sobek", Marres son of Ptahnefer and Stotoetis son of Petosiris.[17] In this case, however, Stotoetis son of Petosiris also held the title of "astronomer" when he wrote *P.Chic.Haw.* 7A–B in 245 BCE, which is a provisional property sale as security for a loan. That there is a connection between the profession of astronomer and the writing of annuity documents

12 He is mentioned in the cult-guild document P. Cairo CG 30605 (September 145 BCE). He was presumably the elder brother of Phanêsis the younger, son of Peteharpsenêsis, who also appears in this papyrus. In P. Cairo CG 30606 of August / September 157 BCE, there is a Phanêsis son of Peteharpsenêsis, but which one of the brothers is this? Among the Carlsberg Papyri there is a receipt for the payment of wheat issued on his behalf (P. Carlsberg 522). He also appears in the documents from the Franco-Italian excavations at Tebtunis.

13 The mention of the Mother-loving God in the singular in the protocol dates the text to after the marriage of Ptolemy VIII and his sister Cleopatra II in 145/4 BCE; PESTMAN, Pieter W., *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)*. P.L.Bat. 15, Leiden, 1967, p. 145; HUSS, Werner, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit: 332–30 v.Chr.*, München, 2001, p. 600; HÖLBL, Günther, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London / New York, 2001, p. 194–195.

14 It follows the standard format of demotic annuity documents; cf. LÜDDECKENS, Erich, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*. ÄgAbh 1, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 141–183; PESTMAN, Pieter W., *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman*. P.L.Bat. 9, Leiden, 1961, p. 37–50; JOHNSON, Janet H., "'Annuity Contracts' and Marriage", in D.P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*. SAOC 55, Chicago, 1994, p. 113–132.

15 These are: P. Cairo CG 30607+JdE 34662 (128 BCE) and P. Cairo CG 30608+30609 (124 BCE); cf. MARTIN, Cary J., "A Family of Scribes in Ptolemaic Tebtynis", in Z.A. Hawass / K.A. Daoud / S. Abd El-Fattah (eds.), *The Realm of the Pharaohs: Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa*. CASAE 37/I, Le Caire, p. 324.

16 *Ibidem*.

17 *P.Chic.Haw.* 1 and 8, which date to 365/4 and 243 BCE respectively; cf. HUGHES, George R. / JASNOW, Richard, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri: Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum (Fourth to Third Century B.C.)*. OIP 113, Chicago, 1997.

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specifically is hard to believe, particularly as there are other annuity texts from the Fayyum where the title does not appear.[18] What is perhaps more plausible is that there may be some connection between this title and that of temple scribe,[19] and it was this which led some scribes to feel it appropriate to include the priestly title alongside their names.[20]

It was not normal practice in demotic documents in the Ptolemaic Period for the scribe's name to be accompanied by a title.[21] While the conventional translation of *ỉmy-wnw.t* is

18 For example *P.Chic.Haw.* 2, 3, 6 (HUGHES / JASNOW, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri*); *P.Hawara* 1, 2, 8a, 12, 15 (LÜDDECKENS, Erich, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara.* Verzeichnis Orientalischer Handschriften in Deutschland. Supplementbände 28, Stuttgart, 1998).

19 The scribes who were responsible for drawing up the demotic legal documents belonged to the temple rather than the state administration. It became customary in Upper Egypt to mention the temple office in whose name the scribe was writing; cf. ZAUZICH, Karl-Theodor, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit*. ÄgAbh 19, Wiesbaden, 1968, p. 2–4; ARLT, Carolin, "The Egyptian Notary Offices in the Ptolemaic Fayum", in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 15–26.

20 Apart from the examples from Hawara and Tebtunis, we also find the title of "astronomer" alongside the scribe's name in an Elephantine text documenting an exchange of stipends, P. Wien D 10151, which dates to 460 BCE; cf. MARTIN, Cary J., "The Demotic Texts", in B. Porten / J.J. Farber / C.J. Martin / G. Vittmann et al., *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*. DMOA 22, 2[nd] Revised Edition, Atlanta, 2011, p. 350–354, text C29. In addition, there is a damaged writing of the title in the fragmentary P. Cairo CG 10262, line 4, which is also an annuity document; cf. the references in DEN BRINKER, Ank A. / MUHS, Brian P. / VLEEMING, Sven P., *A* Berichtigungsliste *of Demotic Documents*. StudDem 7-A, Leuven / Paris / Dudley, MA, 2005, p. 112. A photograph of the text can be found in SPIEGELBERG, Wilhelm, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, II: *Die demotischen Papyrus (CGC: 30601–31270, 50001–50022)*, Strassburg, 1906, pl. cxlvi, 10262[2]. Only the end of the word is visible, but the writing is identical to the clear example of the title in line 2. It is followed by the divine name Sobek. Previously the preserved signs had been read as *Pꜣ-dỉ-* and the *Sbk* taken to be the ending of the name. This cannot be correct, as the name of the scribe that follows is to be read *Pꜣ-dỉ-Sbk* and the writing of *Pꜣ-dỉ* here is completely different to the earlier signs. The text continues after *Pꜣ-dỉ-Sbk* with *sꜣ*, "son of", and then the name of the father, which is probably to be read *sp-sn*, "ditto"; for the use of *sp-sn* in filiations, albeit only in texts from the Roman period, cf. VLEEMING, Sven P., *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*. StudDem 9-B, Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA, 2011, p. 906–907. The whole clause would therefore read, "[(In the) writing (of the) astron]omer Petesouchos son of Petesouchos". The text dates to 232 BCE and comes from Krokodilopolis in the Fayyum; cf. ZAUZICH, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition*, p. 214 no. 74. The proposal that on the basis of the palaeography it should be assigned to Hawara is not convincing; *pace* PASEK, Steve, *Hawara: eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit*. Altertumswissenschaften / Archäologie 1, Berlin, 2007, 1, p. 99 n. 8.

21 In the Hawara Funerary-Workers Archives this is the only title that accompanies the name of the scribe at the end of the text. The other texts have just "(In the) writing (of) X son of Y". In some cases a title is added to the Greek subscription; cf. the list in UYTTERHOEVEN, Inge, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*. OLA 174, Leuven / Paris / Walpole, MA, 2009, p. 858–865. There are also no other titles with the scribes' names in the published Tebtynis texts; cf. MUHS, Brian, "The Grapheion and the Disappearance of Demotic Contracts in Early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos", in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 93–95; MARTIN, in Hawass / Daoud / Abd El-Fattah (eds.), *Essays Handoussa*, p. 323–332; ARLT, in Lippert / Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayyum*, p. 19–21. The juxtaposition of a priestly title alongside the name of the scribe is found in a number of texts from the pre-Ptolemaic period; cf. SEIDL, Erwin, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*. ÄF 20,

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"astronomer" (or "astrologer"), literally "he who is in [his?] hour", in some contexts it has the extended meaning of "watchman".[22] One of the specific tasks of the "astronomer" was doubtless to ensure that the heavens were monitored and that the rituals took place at the correct times during the night,[23] but the extent to which they needed scribal skills beyond this remains uncertain. Also unclear is the level of seniority of the "astronomer" within the priesthood. There are differing views on this.[24] Their presence between the "singers" and the "sacred scribe" in the procession mentioned in Clement of Alexandria would argue for a senior position,[25] but we have to be cautious in drawing conclusions from this text given its much later date (late second, early third century CE).

P. Carlsberg 512:

This is an unusual document in that it records a property transfer, but one that is specifically designated as a dowry. It can be dated to the first century BCE. The object of the transaction is the transfer of a half-share of a house belonging to a woman and her daughter, Thermouthis (*Tꜣ-Rnn.t*) and Tareêsis (*Tꜣy-ỉr-Ỉs.t*).[26] After the dating protocol and the names of the parties involved (that of the man is in lacuna), the text continues, line 3, as follows: "We" (the daughter and her mother) "have given to you" (her husband) "(as a) dowry the half-share (of) our house which is built and equipped with a beam (and) door". The important word here is demotic *grg(.t)*, also written *grk(.t)*, *gyrk.t*, *grgꜣ.t*, *glg(.t)*, for which the accepted translation is now "dowry".[27] We know of two further similar texts from Tebtunis. The one in Copenhagen (P. Carlsberg 244) is just a fragment, but there is a much better preserved document, P. Tebt. SCA 6862, from 134 BCE (unpublished). This text also records the transfer of real estate as a dowry and has a similar opening, "I have given to you (as a) dowry my one-seventh part", although the subsequent clauses in the two texts are not identical.

Glückstadt, 1968, p. 10–13. Whether this just reflects local practice at the time or whether it was felt necessary / desirable as it indicated the professional standing of the scribe needs further consideration.

22 VITTMANN, Günter, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*. ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998, II, p. 322–324.

23 SAUNERON, Serge, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*. Translated by D. Lorton, Cornell, 2000, p. 64.

24 Cf. VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, p. 322–324. The title is not found in the extant portions of the Book of the Temple, which uses *ỉmw-p.t* for "astronomer", a word also attested at Edfu and Esna; information courtesy of Joachim Quack, email 28 August, 2017.

25 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, VI/4; cf. OTTO, Walter, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig / Berlin, 1905, I, p. 89–92.

26 The name is not in RANKE, Hermann, *Die ägyptische Personennamen*, I, Glückstadt, 1935, or LÜDDECKENS, Erich (dir.), *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1980–2000, but it is attested in demotic, written *Tꜣ-ỉ.ỉr-Ỉs.t*, in *P.Count* 53 l. 487; cf. CLARYSSE, Willy / THOMPSON, Dorothy J., *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* I: *Population Registers (P.Count)*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 557.

27 In older publications, different translations were suggested, but cf. CLÈRE, Jacques J., "Un mot pour 'mariage' en égyptien de l'époque ramesside", *RdE* 20, 1968, p. 171–175; ČERNÝ, Jaroslav, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge, 1976, p. 337. It is found in two of the marriage documents published by LÜDDECKENS (*P.Ehevertr.* 6Z = P. Michigan 4244/4a and *P.Ehevertr.* 11Z = P. Heidelberg Aeg. Nr. 11), as well as P.Cairo JE 34662 (IDEM, "Eine wiederentdeckte demotische Zahlungsschrift", *AcOr* 25, 1960, p. 238–249). For examples from other demotic texts, cf. JOHNSON, Janet H., (ed.), *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, <http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/PROJ/DEM/Demotic.html>, 2001– (*CDD*), *g*, p. 49–50.

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Although *grg.t* is mentioned in a number of texts, very little is known about what it actually consisted of. *P.Ehevertr.* 11Z,[28] a document of transfer that was drawn up to accompany a document-of-endowment, *sẖ-n-sʿnḫ*, begins, "you have caused that my heart is satisfied with the remainder of your *grk.t*",[29] but the *grg.t* is later defined as a garment and money. When *grg.t* appears in texts related to marriage, it is usually in the context of maintenance or as a collective term for the *nkt.w n sḥm.t*, "woman's property". Indeed, in these texts it appears to have the same meaning as *nkt.w n sḥm.t*, and to be equivalent to the Greek *pherne*.[30] In all these examples, however, *nkt.w n sḥm.t* is a term for the private articles for the use of the woman, i.e. vessels, ornaments, mirrors etc., which come with her into the marriage as her property. We also find in the texts the woman bringing a specific amount of money, "the money to become a wife", which she delivers to the husband, but we have not hitherto seen real estate as part of this.

It is unfortunate that these texts are so fragmentary, as the detail is not clear and we do not have comparative material to draw upon. After the description of the neighbours of the house, there is in line 6 of P. Carlsberg 512 a clause that appears to refer to the *grg(.t)*, or something of the *grg(.t)*, "which remained against us" (i.e. Thermouthis and Tareêsis) "with you" (the male addressee) "in order to give it to you" (male addressee) "in the name (of) the document-of-endowment which you" (male addressee) "made (for the) lady".[31] "Against us" must mean "that we owed", and this raises the possibility that this type of text is referring to part of the property or capital that has not been given. This is perhaps somehow connected to the maintenance that the husband pays, in return for which he has the management over his wife's property.[32] In some cases at least this would have been a fictitious payment and in other cases the amount actually given may have had no

28 LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, text 11Z.

29 For the reading, cf. PESTMAN, *Marriage*, p. 106 n. 3.

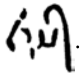
30 As originally suggested by CLARYSSE, Willy, "Ptolemaic Wills", in M.J. Geller / H. Maehler (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World: Papers from a Seminar Arranged by the Institute of Classical Studies, the Institute of Jewish Studies and the Warburg Institute, University of London, February to May 1986*, London, 1995, p. 97. Disputes concerning the non-delivery / return of the *grg.t* are also mentioned in the demotic Temple Oaths; cf. KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*. ÄA 6, Wiesbaden, 1963, I, no. 8 (?), 18–20, 22, 23.

31 *grg(.t) ỉ.ỉr ⸢sp (r-)ʿ.wy⸣=n ỉrm=k (r) dỉ.t-s n=k ⸢n rn⸣ (n) sẖ-(n)-sʿnḫ ⸢(r).ỉr=k⸣ (n) sḥm.t.*

32 For this type of document, cf. PESTMAN, *Marriage*, p. 37–50; DEPAUW, Mark, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. PapBrux 28, Bruxelles, 1997, p. 139–140; LIPPERT, Sandra L., *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*. Einführung und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 5, Berlin, 2008, p. 166–169. According to the Hermopolis Legal Manual (P. Mattha 5.7–13), a husband who did not receive the agreed upon *sʿnḫ* could not be obliged to pay the women maintenance (the legal document became void and was destroyed), and in cases of incomplete payment, the maintenance was reduced accordingly; cf. MATTHA, Girgis / HUGHES, George R., *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*. BdE 45, Le Caire, 1975, p. 9, 30, 99–100; DONKER VAN HEEL, Koen, *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis: P. Mattha, Text and Translation*. Uitgaven vanwege de stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut" 11, Leiden, 1990, p. 53–55; STADLER, Martin A., "Rechtskodex von Hermupolis (P. Kairo JE 89.127–30+89.137–43)", in B. Janowski / G. Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben*. TUAT N.F. 1, Gütersloh, 2004, p. 197; JORDAN, Birgit, *Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha*. Tuna el-Gebel 5, Vaterstetten, 2015, Tafeln, pMattha Recto 05.

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relationship with the "nominal amount" in the text.[33] Our papyrus, however, states that the mother and daughter had given a dowry to the husband. It may have been drawn up to acknowledge the payment because the husband was refusing to pay his wife's maintenance until she gave him the value of the *sꜥnḫ*, which in this case was real estate.

There are further unusual features of this papyrus, not least a clause in line 7, where the text appears to say "anything" or "every word on earth in respect of it without (*ỉwty*) ....", . Two possible readings suggest themselves for the word that follows *ỉwty*, *šn* or *wꜥb*, but both are problematic because neither is usually written with the negative determinative and in the broken context the meaning is unclear.[34] If we read *šn*, "to question", "to investigate",[35] the presence of the negative determinative could be explained as a "borrowing" from *šn*, "to be sick".[36] The meaning is, nonetheless, uncertain. Possibly relevant is the statement in *P.Tor.Botti* 29, line 5, where in an agreement among heirs the addressor says that he will carry out the embalming and burial of their father "without having asked you" (fem. sing.) "for more money grain etc.".[37] In our text, are the addressors making a commitment not to do something without checking first? But if so, what is it?[38] With the alternative reading *ỉwty wꜥb*, the evil determinative might be explained as a "borrowing" from *wꜥb.t*, "embalming place".[39] The word *wꜥb*, "pure", is used in legal texts meaning "free", "unencumbered"[40] – one of the earliest attestations for this use, which became common in demotic legal terminology, is on a Dynasty 23 stela where *wꜥb* already has the meaning "with clear title".[41] In the present context, if this translation is correct, there must have been a statement that the addressors were unable to do something

33 PESTMAN, *Marriage*, p. 104–108.

34 The phrase is also found in P. Carlsberg 244, but again in a broken context.

35 *CDD š*, p. 162–168.

36 The two examples of *šn*, "to enquire", written with the negative determinative from P. Louvre E 3229 listed in *CDD š*, p. 163, are probably better translated as "to be sick / ill", as in the *ed. princ.*, for which cf. JOHNSON, Janet H., "Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text", *Enchoria* 7, 1977, p. 55–102.

37 *bn-pw=t šn.ṯ=t*; cf. BOTTI, Giuseppe, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh*. CMT Serie I – Monumenti e Testi I, Firenze, 1967. This is the only example of *šn* used in documentary texts with this significance; so PESTMAN, Pieter W., "Lo scriba private Amenothes, figlio di Panas", in Idem (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et Copte*. P.L.Bat. 23, Leiden, 1985, p. 180 n. f.

38 The expression *ỉwty šn* is found in a narrative and a religious text, although both times written with the strong *ṯ* and suffix pronoun: *ỉwty šn.ṯ=f*, "without asking him", in P.Spiegelberg X/8 (SPIEGELBERG, Wilhelm, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem Strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken*. DemStud 3, Leipzig, 1910; the example in ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 514, is from this text), *ỉwty šn.ṯ=s*; "without asking her" (= "without her knowledge"), in P.Harkness, V/21 (SMITH, Mark, *Papyrus Harkness [MMA 31.9.7]*, Oxford, 2005).

39 ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 83. There is also an example in the Magical Papyrus with this determinative in the expression *dỉ.t wꜥb*; cf. *CDD w*, p. 45.

40 Cf. PESTMAN, Pieter W., *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden, 1977, II, p. 87 n. y.

41 The Donation Stela of Smendes, line 6; cf. RITNER, Robert K., "Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*. CNIP 27, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 351; IDEM, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21, Atlanta, 2009, p. 432–434.

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"without clear title". Given the problems of the reading and the lack of parallels, however, the interpretation of the phrase must remain, at least for the moment, uncertain.

P. Carlsberg 476:

This a document-of-transfer or sale which dates to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. There are 10 lines of text on the Front, but the beginning of each line is lost. The Back is blank, with no trace of any witness list.[42] Most of the text is standard, apart from the opening line of the main body of the document. This reads: *pꜣ ... ḳd tꜣy(=y) ry.t ḥnꜥ pꜣy=s pr-ḥḏ nty ỉw ḳd ỉw=s grg (n) sy sbꜣ*, which translates as "the ... for building (?) my room, together with its storeroom, which is built and equipped (with) beam and door". The first word looks like *nhy*, . Its determinative and the following *ḳd* would indicate that it is a building of some kind. There is a word *nh.t*, "protection", "refuge",[43] but this does not seem appropriate in the context, which is the transfer of domestic real estate. It is also problematic that only *ḳd* and not *nty ḳd* is written. This would suggest that it must be translated not as "a *nhy* which is built", but rather "the *nhy* for building my room together with its storeroom, which is built etc.". The *nty ỉw ḳd ỉw=s grg*, "which is built (and) provided with", must refer to the room and not the storeroom because of the feminine suffix pronoun.[44] "A *nhy*-building for building my room" is a rather odd phrase, to say the least. Furthermore, line 4 reads, "‹It› belongs to you. [It is] your room together with its storeroom which is above", with no mention of any *nhy*. Rather than interpret this word as a type of building, an alternative reading would be *hy*, "construction", or "repair work"**.** Similar examples of *hy* with such a supralinear stroke are found in other texts from the Fayyum and it can be written with the house determinative.[45] The word appears to mean construction work or repair work, depending on context.[46] That the text is referring to the work of

42 This is unexpected, as the witness list is usually placed behind the *ḏd*, "says", on the Front, which is written in line 1 of our text near to the left-hand side of the sheet.

43 *Wb* II, p. 281; WILSON, Penelope, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. OLA 78, Leuven, 1997, p. 527. The word is attested once and only in its verbal form in demotic; cf. HOFFMANN, Friedhelm, *Ägypter und Amazonen. Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri: P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A*. MPER N.S. 24, Wien, 1995, p. 90 n. 411. There also does not seem any reason to connect it with *nhy*, "sycamore", even though this is feminine in gender; cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, p. 221.

44 We have translated *ry.t* by "room", but the word can also be used with a wider sense, "part of a house" (cf. *CDD r*, p. 11–13) or "adjoining building" (cf. LÜDDECKENS, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara*, p. 29 n. 11b), and it may be that is what is intended here.

45 Cf. the examples in *CDD h*, p. 10. In *P.Chic.Haw.* 5, line 7, and P.Rendell, line 10 (both in HUGHES / JASNOW, *Hawara Papyri*) *hy* is written with this supralinear stroke, which the editors interpreted as a puzzling *n* (they put a question mark after it). The clause reads, "you are to make any alterations in them". Note also writings of *he*, "expense", with the long upper horizontal stroke in the Pisa ostraca and P. BM EA 10225 (examples in *CDD h*, p. 5).

46 The combination of *hy* and *ḳd* is found in a number of papyri; cf. e.g. *CDD h*, p. 10, to which can be added P. dem. Memphis 3, line 5 (MARTIN, Cary J., *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis: In the Collections of The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, The British Museum and The Hermitage Museum*. PALMA 5, Turnhout, 2009); *P.Hawara* 3, line 8, emending *wp.t* → *hy* (LÜDDECKENS, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara*). Note also in the same text, line 6, *mtw=t ỉr hy nb*

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building a room, rather than a *nhy* and a room, makes more sense of the clause mentioned above from line 4. The problem with this interpretation, however, is that the room is described as already built, with a door and beams. Perhaps therefore we should restore the beginning of the text as "you have satisfied my heart with the money for my room, together with the building repairs for the room etc.". In other words, the sale / transfer refers to a room / adjoining building and the work that is needed to repair it. Why this would need to be specified in the document, however, is far from clear. Again, we have no comparable documents to help in elucidating its meaning.

P. Carlsberg 292:

This is from the mid second century (166/5 BCE) and is another document-of-sale.[47] There are 15 lines of text, but the papyrus is torn on both sides. On the Back there are the names of 12 witnesses. The interest of this document is that the object of the sale is a landing-place, demotic *nʿy(.t)*. The text reads, line 9: "You have satisfied my heart with the purchase price (of) my landing-place". The word *nʿy(.t)* is well-attested in demotic. It occurs in the cult-guild papyri from Tebtynis, in particular in the clause referring to the penalty if a member refuses to help a colleague on the road or at the landing-place, who is in need of assistance.[48] This is, however, as far as we are aware, the first document to be published recording the sale / transfer of a landing-place.

P. Carlsberg 471:

This dates to 251 BCE and is a double document of 14 lines.[49] The *scriptura interior* of 10 lines is complete, apart from some slight damage at the left-hand side; of the *scriptura exterior* only the beginning of the first four lines is preserved. The names of the eponymous priests only appear in the *scriptura exterior*, which was usually the more detailed of the two texts in demotic.[50] There are two aspects of this papyrus that deserve highlighting. The first

n.ỉm=w ỉrm tꜣy=t ry.t nty ḥry, "you are to carry out all the construction / repair work in it and (in) your adjoining building/room which is above" (again emending *wp.t* → *hy*).

47 The papyrus is from cartonnage. According to the folder in which it was originally kept, it was acquired in October 1954 from the Nahman family. It is therefore possible that it is not from Tebtunis.

48 Cf. the discussion in CENIVAL, Françoise de, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques*. BdE 46, Le Caire, 1972, p. 56–57 n. 21, 1, but with the comments in the *CDD n*, p. 27, on its extended meaning of "meeting-place".

49 Double documents first appear in the Ptolemaic period and were influenced by, if not borrowed from, Greek legal practice; cf. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 140.

50 Cf. e.g. the surety documents published by CENIVAL, Françoise de, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque*. Société d'histoire du droit: collection d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale 5, Paris, 1973; *P.Sorb.* IV 146 (formerly known as P.dem. Lille 119 = P.Sorb. Inv. No. 1197), for which see now MEDINI, Lorenzo, in M.-P. Chaufray / S. Wackenier (eds.), *Papyrus de la Sorbonne* (*P.Sorb. IV N° 145–160*), Paris, 2016, p. 29–37. The comments of YIFTACH-FIRANKO, Uri, "Who Killed the Double Document in Ptolemaic Egypt?", *APF* 54, 2008, p. 203–218, that the *scriptura interior* contained a full version of the text until the late second century BCE are only applicable to papyri written in Greek. The structure of the demotic texts is quite different, particularly the surety documents where the *scriptura interior* sometimes consists of less than five lines (with a *scriptura exterior* of more than 20). Their use seems to be restricted to the third century and apart from the surety documents only a very limited number of texts were drawn up using this format.

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is the title of one of the parties involved, a certain Stephanos, son of Xenôn (*Stpns sꜣ Ḳsnn*).[51] Stephanos is described in line 2 as a Greek born in Egypt, demotic *Wynn ms (n) Kmy*, which is the demotic rendering of the Greek *Persês tês epigonês*. This is the earliest attestation of the title.[52] Its precise significance evolved over time, but throughout most of the Ptolemaic period it identifies the holder as a member of the military.[53] Also, being "Hellenes", these were a financially-privileged group.[54]

At the beginning of the next line, and therefore written after his father's name, is the word *Prss*. While one's inclination may be to interpret this as "Persian", there are a series of problems with this. First, the few examples of *Prs*, meaning "Persian", which are found in demotic texts, always write *Prs*, with one letter *s* not two.[55] Second, when Persians are

51 The name *Ḳsnnꜣ* appears on a wooden coffin from Tuna el-Gebel published by EBEID, Mahmoud, "Demotic Inscriptions from the Galleries of Tuna el-Gebel", *BIFAO* 106 (2006), p. 58 text 1. For the suggestion that this could be the name Χένων, we thank Willy Clarysse (email, 11 August, 2017). This name is not attested in any Greek text from Egypt, as far as we are aware, but there is an example from Euromos (Philippoi) in Caria; cf. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/Searches.html>. There are traces of ink after the letter *n*, which could either be another letter or, perhaps more likely, the beginning of the horizontal stroke of the foreign determinative. If it is a rendering of the name Χένων, the presence of an aleph after the second *n* would be quite acceptable; cf. CLARYSSE, Willy / VAN DER VEKEN, Griet, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*. P.L.Bat. 24, Leiden, 1983, p. 158 § 36. An alternative Greek name would be Ξεννέας, but in this case the Greek nominative ending is unwritten. For the name, cf. PREISIGKE, Friedrich, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg, 1922, col. 238. For the transcription of Greek Ξ by demotic *Ḳs* in names from Northern Egypt, cf. CLARYSSE / VAN DER VEKEN, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*, p. 144 § 9.

52 Up until now the earliest attestation was 244 BCE; cf. FISCHER-BOVET, Christelle, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 185.

53 LA'DA, Csaba A., "Who Were those of 'of the Epigone'?", in B. Kramer / W. Luppe / H. Maehler / G. Poethke (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19.8. 1995*. APF Beiheft 3, Stuttgart / Leipzig, 1997, I, p. 569. At some point its connection with the military changed: at the end of the Ptolemaic period *Persês tês epigonês* became a general term for debtors, regardless of their real ethnicity and / or affiliation to the military, because this seemed to have made execution in case of non-repayment of the debt easier; cf. PESTMAN, Pieter W., *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephalas: textes grecs et démotiques*. P.L.Bat. 22, Leiden, 1982, p. 60–61, and LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 111–112, 188, with further literature, as well as numerous examples in LIPPERT, Sandra L. / SCHENTULEIT, Maren, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime, III: Urkunden*, Wiesbaden, 2010.

54 CLARYSSE, Willy / THOMPSON, Dorothy J., *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* II: *Historical Studies*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 138–147, 154–159.

55 *CDD p*, p. 132–133; VITTMANN, Günter, "Iranisches Sprachgut in ägyptischer Überlieferung", in T. Schneider (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägais: Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt, Basel 9.-11. Juli 2003*. AOAT 310, Münster, 2004, p. 158. To this list can be added SMITH, Harry S. / MARTIN, Cary J., "Demotic Papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara: Certainly or Possibly of Achaemenid Date", in P. Briant / M. Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*. Persika 14, Paris, 2009, p. 67–68, text 19. For *rmt Prs* in P. Cairo JE 68567, cf. also LA'DA, Csaba A., *Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt*. Prosopographia Ptolemaica 10 = StudHell 38, Leuven / Paris / Dudley, MA, 2002, p. 270–271 no. E3212.

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referred to in texts of the Ptolemaic period, the term used is usually *Mty*.[56] Third, even if *Prss* does mean "Persian", why would the individual cited at the end of line 2, Stephanos, son of Xenôn, be described in demotic as both "a Greek born in Egypt" and a "Persian"? Whether *Wynn ms (n) Kmy* and its Greek equivalent *Persês tês epigonês* designated actual ethnics or pseudo-ethnics need not concern us here.[57] What is certain is that the individuals so designated had a connection with the military and enjoyed a favourable tax-status. To what extent the tax-status of "Persian" differed from that of a "Hellene" in the third century is uncertain, but they were both exempt from the obol-tax.[58] While the status of an individual could change over time, the evidence for this comes from the second century when the situation had undergone considerable modifications and, in any case, we have in our text the two titles apparently held simultaneously.

So how to explain the writing here? There are three possible suggestions. The first is that the scribe wanted to ensure that there was no ambiguity about the status of Stephanos. So as well as supplying the title in Egyptian, *Wynn ms (n) Kmy*, before his name, he also wanted to indicate how this would be written in a Greek text and added, after the name, the demotic phonetic rendering of the Greek word *Persês* (presumably as an abbreviation for *Persês tês epigonês*), rather than deploying the usual translation *Mty*. The writing *Prss* rather than *Prs* would presumably then reflect the Greek nominative ending. An alternative explanation would be to connect the title with Stephanos' father. The fact that his name is Greek is not a problem with this identification, as people designated as *Persai* have predominantly Greek names.[59] Exactly what "Persian" would mean in this context is uncertain. Perhaps he was the descendent of a Persian or Greek soldier who had served during the Persian occupation of Egypt.[60] Why it was felt necessary to mention the father's title, however, is far from clear. The third possibility is that this is not a title, but the grandfather's name (the identical "foreign" determinative is used with both Stephanos and "Greek" in the preceding line). If this is a personal name, it would be a rendering of the Greek Persês.[61] On balance, we think the more likely interpretation is that *Prss* is the title of the father, but the early date of the text might argue for *Prss* being an additional qualification of Stephanos, as the designation *Wynn ms (n) Kmy* might not have been well-known at this early date.

The second point of interest of this papyrus is the content. The Greek soldier addresses an Egyptian priest, who has the rare name *Swꜣ-ṯ̭=y-Ỉs.t* son of *Stꜣ.ṯ̭-Ỉmn-gwꜣ*.[62] His title is

56 Cf. VITTMANN, in Schneider (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, p. 155–157.

57 Cf. the comments of LA'DA, Csaba A., "Ethnicity, Occupation and Tax-Status in Ptolemaic Egypt", in *Acta Demotica: Acts of Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993*. EVO 17, Pisa, 1994, p. 184–187.

58 CLARYSSE / THOMPSON, *Counting the People* II, p. 157–159.

59 *Ibidem*, p. 158.

60 *Ibidem*, p. 158–159; FISCHER-BOVET, *Army and Society*, p. 186–187.

61 PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, p. 307. This name is not attested in demotic, as far as we are aware, but note the feminine Persis as an alias of Tikas rendered as *Prswys* and *Prwss*; cf. COUSSEMENT, Sandra, *'Because I am Greek': Polyonymy as an Expression of Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. StudHell 55, Leuven / Paris / Bristol, CT, 2016, p. 372 no. 366 (reference courtesy of Willy Clarysse, email, 11 August, 2017).

62 *Swꜣ-ṯ̭=y-Ỉs.t* is not otherwise attested. For *Stꜣ.ṯ̭-Ỉmn-gwꜣ*, cf. LÜDDECKENS (dir.), *Demotisches*

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"the bearer of the gods of Thoêris and servant of Souchos". Lines 3–4 of the text read: "I am in your [house] (*ḫpr=y (n) pꜣy=k [ʿ.wy]*) together with the courtyard which is built and equipped with beam and door". "I am in your house" appears to have the extended meaning of "I have taken responsibility for your house". There then follows a description of the neighbours, and the text continues: "I am to dwell (*ḫpr*) in your house, together with its vacant plots, which is above. I am to guard (*ḥrḥ*) it until the specific time of saying to me which you will do, as follows, 'Go out of it', and I am to hand over (*ḫꜣʿ ỉ.ỉr-ḥr*) your house which is above, together with its vacant plots which are above, to you, within five days, [compulsorily], without delay". If he fails to do this, he has to pay a large fine of 500 staters.

On the basis of the date, the parties involved (an Egyptian home-owner and a Greek soldier) and its unusual structure, Chauveau, who had earlier worked on this text,[63] suggested that it may be linked to the extensive settlement in the Fayyum of veterans of the 2nd Syrian War (the war had ended in 253 BCE). He argued that, because there was large-scale requisition of property for the settlers, which led to numerous cases of abuse, the Egyptians had recourse to different strategies to protect their interests. In our case, the Egyptian home-owner, knowing that his property was going to be requisitioned, had pre-empted this by drawing up an agreement with a Greek soldier that provided him with the legal protection of being able to evict his tenant when he wished and the comfort of a considerable fine if the latter did not go.

The date of the text and the names of the protagonists certainly fit with Ptolemy's extensive settlements of veterans in the Fayyum.[64] The structure of the document, however, should not necessarily be linked to the pre-emption of possible requisitioning. There are three published texts which may be relevant to our understanding of this papyrus. The first two are Theban and date to the latter part of the second century (*P.Tor.Botti* 17 and 25B).[65] These texts begin (lines 8 and 9 respectively) with *ḫpr=y ḥr rd.wy.ṯ=k / rd.wy.ṯ=t*, "I have become upon your feet", rather than simply *ḫpr=y*, as in our text, and continue (lines 13–14 and 14 respectively) with *mtw=y ḫpr n.ỉm=s / n.ỉm=f ỉw=y ḥrḥ r.r=s / r.r=f*, "and I shall be in it, watching over it", which is very similar to the clause in the Tebtunis papyrus. These two Theban texts are classified as leases of portions of habitable buildings (the word *sḥn* is found in the document), the opening words meaning "I have (this day) taken responsibility for". The third text is column II, lines 23–27, of the Hermopolis Legal Manual.[66] This sets out the procedures to be followed to demonstrate ownership in cases where legal title might be unclear or disputed.[67] The new owner commits the property to the care of a third party

Namenbuch, p. 942.

63 CHAUVEAU, Michel, "Démotique", *EPHE SHP Livret-Annuaire* 19, 2003/4 (2005), p. 8–9.

64 CLARYSSE, Willy, "A Royal Visit to Memphis and the End of the Second Syrian War", in D.J. Crawford / J. Quaegebeur / W. Clarysse (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*. StudHell 24, Lovanii, 1980, p. 83–89; GRAINGER, John D., *The Syrian Wars*. Mnemosyne Suppl. 320, Leiden / Boston, 2010, p. 137.

65 BOTTI, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh*.

66 For the text editions, see n. 32 above.

67 Cf. the discussion by PESTMAN, Pieter, "Remarks on the Legal Manual of Hermopolis: A Review-Article", *Enchoria* 12 (1984), p. 35–39.

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three times for a total of three years. If no-one contests his right to act as an owner over this period, the house becomes his. This section of the Legal Manual is headed *hp (n) sḥn*. A simple translation "lease law" or "lease regulation" does not do really do justice to the complexity of this expression. The meaning of *sḥn* is "to entrust to the care of".[68] In line 24 the text reads, *ḫpr=y ỉrm=k ... r ḥrḥ r pꜣy=k ꜥ.wy*, "I am with you ... to guard / watch over your house".[69] The similarities, particularly the use of *ḥrḥ*, "to guard", "watch over",[70] are noticeable. Whether *ḫpr* means physically "to stay with" or more abstractly "to associate" here is an open question, but in either case the requirement "to guard" the property is clear. While one noticeable difference between the three above texts and our document is the omission of any payment, this should not be taken to mean that there was no financial recompense involved. In the Hermopolis Legal Manual, it is the lessee who receives a payment for looking after the property.[71] Our text was drawn up by the "lessee" and it is quite conceivable that a reciprocal document was written by the "lessor" in which a payment may have been mentioned. This of course is purely speculative, as the circumstances that led to the transaction remain hidden to us and there may well have been other activities between the parties, i.e. a loan, a sale etc, that were connected with it. It is attractive to link this text to the situation in the Legal Manual, but as it is, at least for the moment, unique other interpretations are possible. In any case, the Greek soldier did not enjoy a particularly favourable lodging if he could be evicted at less than one week's notice!

P. Carlsberg 584:

This is a bid by tender for the office of lesonis of Soknebtunis by Marrês son of Pachois (the reading of the father's name is not certain).[72] It dates to 165 BCE and is sadly in very poor condition. Despite its lamentable state, the relevant clause can be read with certainty in lines 6–7. This begins: *[ỉw=f ḫpr] ⸢r⸣ ḫꜣꜥ=w tꜣ wp.t n mr-šn n Sbk-nb-Tny ỉ.ỉr-ḥr⸢=y⸣ ...*, "[If] the work of the lesonis of Soknebtunis were assigned to me", and continues with the length of the appointment, "from regnal-year 6, 1st month of *Akhet* (= Thôth), day 1, until regnal-year 6, 4th month of *Shemu* (= Mesorê), the last day, and the epagomenal days".

68 PESTMAN, *Recueil de textes démotiques* II, p. 102–103; IDEM, *Enchoria* 12, p. 36–37 n. d.
69 Literally, "I have come to be with you" or "I have settled with you" (past tense).
70 Cf. the examples in the *CDD ḥ*, p. 240–243.
71 As highlighted by PESTMAN, *Enchoria* 12, 1984, p. 36–37.
72 For the lesonis, cf. VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, II, p. 290–292; CHAUFRAY, Marie-Pierre, "Des *lésônes* en action dans le temple de Soknopaios à Soknopaiou Nêsos à l'époque ptolémaïque", in P. Piacentini / C. Orsenigo (eds.), *Egyptian Archives: Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives / Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9–10, 2008*. Quaderni di Acme 111, Milano, 2009, p. 157–168; HUSS, Werner, *Die Verwaltung des ptolemaiischen Reichs*. MBPF 104, München, 2011, p. 136–139. Most recently, SCHENTULEIT, Maren, "Organization of the Priesthood in Soknopaiou Nesos: Transition Between the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", in M. Capasso / P. Davoli (eds.), *Soknopaios, The Temple and Worship: Proceedings of the First Round Table of the Centro di Studi Papirologici of Università del Salento, Lecce, October 9th 2013*. Edaphos 1, Lecce / Brescia, 2015, p. 175–177. Cf. also the thesis of CHAUFRAY, Marie-Pierre, *La fonction du lésônis dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque saïte à l'époque romaine*. EPHE, Paris, 2011, which is being prepared for publication.

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What Marrês offers to give in return, however, is damaged and the reconstruction of the rest of the text, for the moment at least, unclear. We have a series of similar texts in *P.Oxf.Griffith* 42–55, tender offers for various functions at the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos.[73] These all date to the second century BCE, more specifically to the period from 180 to 118/7 BCE. P. Carlsberg 584, however, is a tender for the office of lesonis. No other tenders for the office of lesonis have been published to date, although one, P.Tebt. VI 1165, is awaiting publication.[74] There are also other unpublished documents with offers for the office of lesonis of Soknebtunis in the Tebtunis texts that were found during the recent Franco-Italian excavations.[75] Our document covers the year beginning 3 October 165 BCE. The bid was successful since Marrês is mentioned as the lesonis for year 6 in the admission document of a priest.[76]

The above comments highlight some of the more interesting and unusual features of a selection of the documentary and administrative papyri from Tebtunis in the Carlsberg Collection. It is, it must be emphasised, only work in progress, but we hope that it will give a good indication of the wealth of information that is contained in the texts, the full publication of which is expected in the near future.

73 BRESCIANI, Edda, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford* I: *P. Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75*. TDSA 49, Milano, 1975.

74 MONSON, Andrew, "A Proposal to Become Chief Priest of Harsaphes", in T.M. Hickey / A. Verhoogt / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *The Tebtunis Papyri* VI, Chicago, forthcoming; cf. ARLT, Carolin, "The Temple Administration in Ptolemaic Soknopaiou Nesos: The Role of Tax Farming and Monopolies", in Capasso / Davoli (eds.), *Soknopaios, The Temple and Worship*, p. 16.

75 P. Tebt. SCA 6891, 7996, 5706, 7344, and perhaps also 5792.

76 P. Tebt. SCA 5787.

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Imprisonment, Guarantors, and Release on Bail in the Ptolemaic Fayum*

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The Ptolemaic state used both the threat and the practice of imprisonment to help enforce laws, revenue collection, and even private contracts. Petitions reveal that subjects of criminal investigations could be imprisoned until officials heard their cases, and that persons convicted of debt either to the state or to private individuals could be detained until they paid their debt.[1] A variety of papyrological sources express fear of indefinite imprisonment, but release on bail was often possible with the help of guarantors frequently called sureties.[2] Guarantors could provide surety declarations promising that the released prisoners would appear before the officials or pay their debts, and that if the prisoners failed to do so the guarantors would be liable for them.

The administration of imprisonment, guarantors and release on bail would have required considerable documentation in addition to the surety declarations, and this paper examines an unpublished group of Demotic, Greek and bilingual ostraca that seem to be part of such administration. They date to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE, and they probably derive from the site of Philadelphia in the Fayum. They appear to be fragments of running diaries or current accounts in daybook format, recording when prisons had received prisoners, when they released them, whether guarantors had arranged for their release on bail, and whether the guarantors had brought the prisoners back to fulfill their promises. This paper will first report on their acquisition history, provenance, and previous work, before describing the contents of the texts. The paper will then attempt to place the texts in their context in the administration of imprisonment, guarantors, and release on bail in the Ptolemaic Fayum.

* The author is grateful to the organizers of the conference "Le Fayoum: Archéologie, Histoire, Religion," Campus CNRS, Montpellier France, 26–28 October 2016, for the invitation and the encouragement to present on these texts, and to the participants at the conference for their many helpful suggestions. The author also thanks the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and Professor Kim Ryholt of the University of Copenhagen for permission to cite and ultimately publish the imprisonment ostraca. Above all, the author is grateful to Professor Ursula Kaplony-Heckel for sharing her work on and photos of the imprisonment ostraca.

1 BAUSCHATZ, John, "Ptolemaic Prisons Reconsidered", *The Classical Bulletin* 83.1, 2007, p. 3–48, especially p. 3–18; BAUSCHATZ, John, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 238–251.

2 BAUSCHATZ, *The Classical Bulletin* 83.1, 2007, p. 3–48, especially p. 18–24; BAUSCHATZ, *Law and Enforcement*, p. 252–260.

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The Acquisition of the Imprisonment Ostraca

The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor holds the majority of the imprisonment ostraca, about 150 sherds. They are registered within Kelsey Museum inventory numbers 4006–4187, though not all of the inventory numbers in that range are imprisonment ostraca. The University of Copenhagen holds three more imprisonment ostraca, registered as O.Haun. Dem. 1–3. Professor Francis Willey Kelsey (1858–1927) of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor acquired the majority of the imprisonment ostraca from the dealer Dr. David L. Askren (1878–1939), an American Presbyterian missionary physician. Askren went to Egypt in 1899 and served at the United Presbyterian hospital in Assiut for a few years before moving to Medinet el-Fayum, where he practiced until his death.[3] Kelsey met Askren in 1915 while sailing to Italy, and asked him to be his agent in Egypt. Askren worked with the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman to assemble a collection of manuscripts, papyri and antiquities, but they could not export them during the First World War.[4] Kelsey subsequently purchased a first part of Askren's collection in March 1920 during his first trip to Egypt, including the ostraca now bearing Kelsey Museum inventory numbers 4001–4038. He purchased a second part of the collection in July 1925 during his first excavation season at Karanis in the Fayum, including the ostraca with Kelsey Museum inventory numbers 4039–4272. The Kelsey Museum imprisonment ostraca come from both batches.[5] Professor Hans Ostenfeldt Lange (1863–1943) of the University of Copenhagen acquired the remainder of the imprisonment ostraca in Egypt in 1931 from the dealer Zaki Mahmud Abd es-Samad (1894–after 1931).[6]

The Provenance of the Imprisonment Ostraca

Askren and Zaki probably acquired the imprisonment ostraca directly or indirectly from the site of ancient Philadelphia in the Fayum, modern Kom el-Kharaba el-Kebir, also known as Kom Darb Gerza. Leiv Amundsen published 97 Greek ostraca from the Askren collection in 1935, and some of those explicitly state that they were written in Philadelphia.[7] The imprisonment ostraca are less explicit than those published by Amundsen, but the Demotic toponym *Tꜣ-nhy* or *Nꜣ-nh.w*, "The Sycamore(s)" frequently appears in them.[8] The same

3 Bedford Times-Press, February 9, 1939, Page 5: "OBITUARY - DR. DAVID L. ASKREN" http://iagenweb.org/ringgold/obitht001/a-obit_b/obit-askrendavidl.html. Accessed 8 October 2016.

4 TALALAY, Lauren E. / ROOT, Margaret Cool, *Passionate Curiosities, Tales of Collectors and Collections from the Kelsey Museum*, Kelsey Museum Publication 13, Ann Arbor, 2015, p. 63–64.

5 AMUNDSEN, Leiv, *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection, Part 1. Texts*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 34, Ann Arbor, 1935, p. 225–226; KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula, "Das Tagebuch der Polizei-Station von Karanis. Ein Vorbericht", *Enchoria* 18, 1991, p. 191 n. 2.

6 HAGEN, Fredrik / RYHOLT, Kim, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930, The H.O. Lange Papers*, Scientia Danica, Series H, Humanistica, 4, Vol. 8, Copenhagen, 2016, p. 176–178.

7 AMUNDSEN, Leiv, *Greek Ostraca Michigan 1. Texts*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 34, Ann Arbor, 1935, p. 1–29 (nos. 1–97), especially nos. 9, 13, 16, 25 and 71.

8 O.KM 4009 + 4015 + 4017 + 4022 + 4023, O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 recto, O.KM 4056 + 4059 + 4060 recto, O.KM 4109 + 4127 + 4129, and O.KM 4131. For the reading see KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula, "37–38. Der demotische Papyrus *Loeb* 80 und ein Überblick über die demotischen Gebelein-Briefe und -Verwaltungsschreiben", in H. Melaerts (ed.), *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii (P.Bingen)*, Studia varia Bruxellensia ad orbem Graeco-

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toponym also frequently occurs in the Demotic archive of Tikas from Philadelphia,[9] and in one papyrus it is explicitly said to be an alternative name for *Tꜣ-mr-sn*, "The sibling-lover," a Demotic translation of Greek Philadelphia.[10]

The site of Philadelphia has produced a great deal of textual material contemporary with the imprisonment ostraca. Viereck and Zucker excavated at the town site in 1908–09,[11] and found an archive of 62 Greek ostraca and one bilingual ostracon pertaining to the management of an agricultural estate, dating to regnal years 13–18 of either Ptolemy IV (= 210–204 BCE) or Ptolemy V (= 193–187 BCE).[12] Following Viereck and Zucker's excavation, local farmers or fellahin excavated the town site and found a number of Greek papyri dating to the late 3rd or early 2nd centuries BCE, which were sold to the 'Papyruskartell'. These include a 'Dorf-Archiv' or village contract registry from Philadelphia,[13] and a group of hierodule or self-dedication contracts.[14] The town site was then dug for decayed mudbrick or *sebakh* during the First World War, when Egypt could no longer import fertilizer. In the winter of 1914–15, diggers for fertilizer called *sebakhin* discovered nearly 2000 papyri belonging to the archive of Zenon, estate manager of the dioiketes Apollonios during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus,[15] which the *sebakhin* then began to sell. Dr. David L. Askren collaborated with Maurice Nahman to acquire some of these papyri, and sold them to Francis W. Kelsey during his first trip to Egypt in 1920–21. Subsequently Askren continued to collaborate with Nahman to purchase more of these papyri on behalf of the 'Kelsey Syndicate', a consortium organized by Kelsey and consisting at various times of the British Museum, the University of Michigan, Columbia University, Cornell University, Princeton University, the University of Geneva, and the

Latinum pertinentia 5, Leuven, 2000, p. 193 n. 53, citing a personal communication with Karl-Theodor Zauzich.

9 MARTIN, Cary J., "A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P. BM 10560", *JEA* 72, 1986, p. 159–173, especially p. 162–163 (note 7) and 167 (note 5).

10 SMITH, Harry S., "Another Witness-Copy Document from the Fayyūm", *JEA* 44, 1958, p. 86–96, especially p. 93–94 (note m).

11 VIERECK, Paul / ZUCKER, Friedrich (eds.), *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden* VII. *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm*, Berlin, 1926, p. 1–13; DAVOLI, Paola, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, Missione archeologica delle Università degli studi di Bologna e di Lecce nel Fayyum 1, Napoli, 1998, p. 139–143.

12 VIERECK / ZUCKER (eds.), *Berlin, Griechische Urkunden* VII, p. 14–64 (nos. 1500–1562); Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Archive ID 160, "Ostraca from a cellar in Philadelphia".

13 PARTSCH, Josef / WILCKEN, Ulrich, *Juristische Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung 3, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historischen Klasse 7, Heidelberg, 1927; Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Archive ID 264, "Tomos of Philadelphia."

14 DANIEL, Robert W. / GRONEWALD, Michael / THISSEN, Heinz Jozef, *Griechische und Demotische Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg*, Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung 4, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 38, Bonn, 1986; CLARYSSE, Willy, "A demotic self-dedication to Anubis", *Enchoria* 16, 1988, p. 7–10 and pl. 1; Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Archive ID 13, "Self-dedications to the god Anoubis."

15 Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Archive ID 256, "Archive of Zenon son of Agreophon".

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University of Oslo. Other papyri found at Philadelphia were also acquired and redistributed by the 'Kelsey Syndicate', such as the Demotic archive of Tikas.

Previous Work on the Imprisonment Ostraca

Professor Ursula Kaplony-Heckel of Marburg University studied the Kelsey Museum imprisonment ostraca during three trips to the United States in 1988, 1989 and 1990. She published a preliminary report on them in the journal *Enchoria* in 1991,[16] and together with Peter van Minnen, then of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, she published translations of three of the ostraca in an exhibition catalogue, also in 1991.[17] The Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Archives, contains a brief description of the ostraca based on these publications.[18] Professor Kim Ryholt of the University of Copenhagen called attention to the three imprisonment ostraca held by his university during the conference "Le Fayoum: Archéologie, Histoire, Religion," Campus CNRS, Montpellier France, 26–28 October 2016.

Demotic Texts

Most of the imprisonment ostraca are small fragments of long texts written on large sherds that subsequently broke or were broken into many pieces in antiquity, judging from the extremely worn breaks. Many of the smaller fragments join each other, but many remain isolated. Some fragments have undoubtedly been lost, and with them some of the joins between isolated fragments. Currently 153 sherds are known, which represent no more than and probably fewer than 84 texts. Of these 84 texts, 74 are purely Demotic, 2 are purely Greek, and 8 are bilingual, with Demotic on the outer or convex side, and Greek on the inner or concave side.

The majority of the Demotic texts are fragments of running diaries or current accounts in daybook format. They are each composed of a series of entries, which usually begin with a date. Some diaries repeat the month and day for each entry,[19] some give the month and day for the initial entry and only the day for subsequent entries,[20] and many only give the days of the month, though this last frequently occurs in texts missing their beginning where the month may have been indicated.[21] Most accounts appear to document a single month or portion thereof, though one account spans parts of two months.[22] Days of the month are frequently qualified by the phrase "the same day" (*pꜣ hrw n rn=f*). These different scribal practices indicate that the texts are the work of several scribes.

16 KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Enchoria* 18, 1991, p. 191–192.

17 KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula / VAN MINNEN, Peter, "Demotic Papyri, Demotic and Demotic-Greek Ostraca, Wood Mummy Tag", in M.I. Allen / T.K. Dix (eds.), *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World, An Exhibition Presented at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan*, Ann Arbor, 1991, p. 100–102 (nos. 96–98).

18 Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Archive ID 196, "Police of Philadelphia".

19 O.KM 4009 + 4015 + 4017 + 4022 + 4023, O.KM 4074 + 4077 + 4089 + 4118 + 4122, O.KM 4082 + 4096 + 4099 + 4130, and O. KM 4155.

20 O.KM 4147, and O.Haun dem. 2 recto.

21 O.KM 4030 recto, O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 recto, O.KM 4056 + 4059 + 4060 recto, and O.KM 4097 + 4111 + 4116 + 4134 + 4144 + 4154 recto.

22 O.KM 4009 + 4015 + 4017 + 4022 + 4023.

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After the dates, the entries in the running diaries consist of a number of stock phrases, which fall into three distinct groups. One group contains the phrases "prison" or "imprisonment" (*ḏtḥ*), "brought" (*ỉn*) and "given to the hand" (*tỉ n-ḏr.t*). Another group consists of the phrase "released" (*ḫꜣꜥ bnr*). A third group contains the phrases "ordered" (*ḥn*), "fled" (*pḏ*) and "brought" (*ỉn*). Each running diary usually contains entries with stock phrases from only one of these groups, with the exception of "brought" which occurs in two groups. This pattern of distribution suggests that the three groups may represent three different types of running diaries.

'Imprisonment', 'Brought' and 'Given to the Hand'

The most common type of running diary contains the group of phrases "imprisonment", "brought" and "given to the hand".[23] The first phrase in the entries after the dates is usually "imprisonment (through) Personal Name 1 (of) Personal Name 2" (*ḏtḥ* PN1 PN2).[24] The Egyptian word *ḏtḥ* can either be a verb, "to imprison," or a noun, "prison" or "imprisonment." In these texts, however, an article or a preposition often precedes it, indicating that it is a noun. The word for "prison" or "imprisonment" (*ḏtḥ*) is almost always followed by one of a small number of personal names (PN1), presumably the individuals responsible for the prison or imprisonment. These personal names are never qualified by patronyms or titles, presumably because they were few and well known, and indeed the same names frequently recur. Thus in various texts, one finds imprisonment by or through Ptolemaios, Kolluthes and Arpalos;[25] through Ptolemaios (again), Sosibos and Arpalos (again);[26] through Theon;[27] through Ptolemaios (again);[28] through Arpalos (again);[29] and through Dionysios.[30] A second personal name (PN2) usually follows the first (PN1), presumably indicating the individual being imprisoned. The second personal name (PN2) is almost always qualified by a patronym, a title, and/or a place name, presumably because the individuals were not well known and needed to be carefully identified, and indeed these personal names do not seem to recur. The most common titles are associated with Ptolemaic monopolies, such as "launderer/laundress" (*pꜣ/tꜣ rḫt*) and "brewer" (*pꜣ ꜥtḫ*),[31] and the most common place name is "The Sycamore(s)" (*Tꜣ-nhy* or *Nꜣ-nh.w*) which is probably Philadelphia.

The initial phrase "imprisonment (through) Personal Name 1 (of) Personal Name 2" is often followed by the phrase "Personal Name 3 has brought him" (*ỉn s* PN3),[32] with variants like "Personal Name 3 has brought" (*ỉn* PN3), or "whom Personal Name 3 has

23 O.KM 4030 recto, O.KM 4056 + 4059 + 4060, O.KM 4082 + 4096 + 4099 + 4130, O.KM 4097 + 4111 + 4116 + 4134 + 4144 + 4154, O.KM 4101, O.KM 4131, O.KM 4147, and perhaps O.Haun. Dem. 1.
24 In O.KM 4082 + 4096 + 4099 + 4130, the word for "prison" or "imprisonment" is written *ṯtḥ*.
25 O.KM 4030 recto.
26 O.KM 4056 + 4059 + 4060.
27 O.KM 4082 + 4096 + 4099 + 4130.
28 O.KM 4097 + 4111 + 4116 + 4134 + 4144 + 4154.
29 O.KM 4145.
30 O.KM 4147.
31 O.KM 4056 + 4059 + 4060, O. KM 4131.
32 O.KM 4056 +4059 + 4060.

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brought” (*r.ỉn* PN3).[33] Another phrase that frequently follows either “imprisonment (through) Personal Name 1 (of) Personal Name 2” or “Personal Name 3 has brought” is “they have given him to the hand of Personal Name 4” (*tỉ=w s n-ḏr.t* PN4). There appear to be variants of this phrase, such as “they have given him to Personal Name 4” (*tỉ=w s n* PN4), or “they have given to Personal Name 4” (*tỉ=w n* PN4). The personal name here (PN4) refers to a number of individuals, different from those responsible for imprisonment (PN1), but who also frequently recur. For example, in one text they have given him to the hands of the individuals Petosiris son of Haruotes, and Horos son of Paesis the man of Psenenteris.[34] In another portion of the same text, they are given to the hand of Petosiris son of Haruotes (again), and they are simply given to Dionysios.

The phrase “they have given him to the hand of Personal Name 4” and its variants sometimes alternate with a personal name (PN4) followed by the epithet *šp-ḏr.t*, literally meaning “received the hand,” but actually a technical phrase meaning that one is “guarantor” for someone else. Thus “they have given him to the hand of Personal Name 4” is another way of saying “Personal Name 4 is guarantor” for him. Thus in one text a prisoner is given to Onnophris, while Petesouchos the brewer is described as “guarantor”.[35] In other portions of the same text, prisoners are given to the hand of Petosiris son of Haruotes (again), they are simply given to Petosiris son of Kerbes, or Kolluthes is described as their “guarantor”.

The phrases “Personal Name 3 has brought him” and “they have given him to the hand of Personal Name 4” and their variants may also be qualified by other clauses. One qualifying clause is “for the security? of the remainder of the money?” (*n tꜣ ỉwy.t? sp ḥḏ?*), presumably indicating the reason that Personal Name 3 has brought Personal Name 2 to the prison, and the reason that Personal Name 4 is acting as guarantor for him. Another qualifying clause is “so that they are far from him” (*r wy=w r-ỉr=f*), presumably indicating that the prison no longer has a claim on Personal Name 2 after Personal Name 4 has become guarantor for him.

‘Released’

Another type of running diary contains the phrase “released”.[36] After the dates, the entries consist of the phrase “they have released another (through) Personal Name 1, (namely) Personal Name 2” (*ẖꜣʿ=w bnr gy* PN1 PN2). The Egyptian word *ẖꜣʿ* is clearly the verb “to throw” or “to cast,” which has been conjugated in the impersonal third person plural, followed by the adverb “out” or “away” (*bnr*). “Another” (*gy*) is the direct object, presumably a person, which is followed by one of a small number of personal names (PN1), and then by one or more other personal names (PN2) that display a larger variety. The first personal names (PN1) are the same as those that occur after “imprisonment” (*ḏtḥ*), and presumably indicated the individuals responsible for the release, presumably from prison.

33 O.KM 4082 + 4096 + 4099 + 4130, O. KM 4101, O. KM 4131, and O. KM 4147.
34 O.KM 4056 + 4059 + 4060.
35 O.KM 4097 + 4111 + 4116 + 4134 + 4144 + 4154.
36 O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 recto, and O.Haun. Dem. 2 recto.

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For example, in one text release occurs through Sosibios, Arpalos, *Twsytes* and Theon;[37] in another, it occurs through Arpalos (again), Keleesis, and Sosibos (again).[38] The other personal names (PN2) presumably indicate the individuals released, referring back to "another" (*gy*).

'Ordered', 'Fled' and 'Brought'

Another type of running diary contains the group of phrases "Personal Name has ordered" (*ḥn* PN), "Personal Name has fled" (*pḏ* PN), and "Personal Name has brought him" (*ỉn s* PN).[39]

Greek Texts:

Of the 84 texts currently in the corpus, 2 are purely Greek, and 8 are bilingual, with Demotic on the outer or convex side, and Greek on the inner or concave side. The Greek scribe or scribes who write on the inner or concave sides of Demotic ostraca write with a brush rather than a pen, suggesting that they might be Egyptian,[40] and might also be responsible for the Demotic texts on the outer or convex sides of the ostraca. Like the Demotic texts, most of the Greek texts also appear to be running diaries, composed of entries beginning with a date followed by a number of stock phrases, such as "carrying off through Personal Name," or "he was given to Personal Name," or "release through Personal Name."

The most common phrase in the Greek diaries is "carrying off through Personal Name" (ἀπαγωγὴ διὰ PN).[41] The Greek noun ἀπαγωγὴ can mean simply "carrying off," but it often has a technical meaning of "carrying off to prison," or "carrying off before a magistrate for a hearing," or even "arrest." It probably corresponds to Demotic "imprisonment (through) Personal Name" (*ḏtḥ* PN). Indeed, some of the Greek personal names following ἀπαγωγὴ διὰ appear to be the same as the Demotic personal names following *ḏtḥ*, such as Dionysios and Arpalos.[42] Another common phrase in the Greek diaries is "he has been given to Personal Name" (παραδέδοται PN).[43] It probably corresponds to Demotic "they have given him to the hand of Personal Name" (*tỉ=w s n-ḏr.t* PN). Yet another phrase in the Greek diaries is "release through Personal Name" (ἄφεσις διὰ PN).[44] It probably corresponds to Demotic "they have released another (through) Personal Name" (*ẖꜣꜥ=w bnr gy* PN). Again, some of the Greek personal names following ἄφεσις διὰ appear to be the same as the Demotic personal names after *ẖꜣꜥ=w bnr gy*, namely Dionysios and Arpalos.[45]

37 O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 recto.
38 O.Haun. Dem. 2 recto.
39 O.KM 4009 + 4015 + 4017 + 4022 + 4023, O.KM 4074 + 4077 + 4089 + 4118 + 4122, O.KM 4155, and O.Haun. Dem. 3.
40 CLARYSSE, Willy, "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *CdE* 68, 1993, p. 186–201, especially p. 188–190.
41 O.KM 4030 verso.
42 O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 verso.
43 O.KM 4042 verso.
44 O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 verso.
45 O.KM 4039 + 4041 + 4044 + 4045 + 4065 + 4137 + 4158 + 4159 verso.

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The Administration of Imprisonment

The imprisonment ostraca probably represent discards from an archive. They were clearly not intended for long term storage or use, because they do not preserve any year dates, they were written on ostraca rather than papyri, and they may have been deliberately broken. Futhermore, the information that they contained about imprisonment, guarantors and release on bail is organized by month and day, rather than by the individuals involved, which would have made it very difficult to find information about specific individuals in the long term.

Most likely the running diaries or current accounts on the imprisonment ostraca were used to compile summary accounts on papyri, where the information was organized by individual. Officials could then consult such summary accounts to determine where prisoners were being held, whether they had been released, who were the guarantors who had arranged for their release on bail, and whether the guarantors had fulfilled their promises to deliver the prisoners or their debts, or whether the guarantors themselves would be liable. A fragment of such a summary account has in fact survived in Greek papyrus *Chrest.Mitt.* 45 (= *P.Petrie* III 28 e verso).[46] The papyrus contains four entries, each beginning with the name of an individual, followed by a description of their crimes, a judgment against them involving payment of a fine, and their subsequent disposition. The vocabulary echoes some of the phrases in the Greek imprisonment ostraca, such as "he has been given" (παραδέδοται), and "released" (ἄφεσις). For example, one entry in lines 1-5 reads "Semphtheus son of Perigenes, who broke (literally 'dug') into a house" (Σεμφθεὺς Περιγένους ὃτι διώρυξεν οἰκίαν) …, "having received 200 drachms (from him), he was released" (λαβὼν (δραχμὰς) σ ἀφῆκεν), "and he was given to Paos the prison guard" (παρεδόθη δὲ Παῶτι δεσμοφύλακι).

Such summary accounts on papyri, in turn, could be used to identify the guarantors who had provided sureties for prisoners who had been released, in the event that the prisoners did not appear or pay their debts. Several Demotic surety declarations for prisoners have survived in *P.Bürgsch.* 7–8,[47] and *P.LilleDem.* I 1–4.[48] These Demotic surety declarations are written in the first person, and reveal that the guarantors had to appear and recite their guarantee before the archiphylakitai or chiefs of police of the division and the province. The chiefs of police had the oral statements transcribed on papyrus, and then archived the resulting surety declarations. Some of the vocabulary in these Demotic surety declarations echoes some of the key phrases in the Demotic imprisonment ostraca, such as "imprisonment" (*ḏtḥ*), "brought" (*ỉn*), "given to the hand" (*tỉ n-ḏr.t*), and "guarantor" (*šp-ḏr.t*, literally "received the hand"). For example, in *P.LilleDem.* I 4, dated to Year 38 of Ptolemy II (247 BCE), the guarantor Teos says to the chief of police in lines 7 and 8 that "I

46 MITTEIS, Ludwig / WILCKEN, Ulrich, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, II. Band Juristischer Teil, II. Hälfte Chrestomathie*. Leipzig–Berlin, 1912, p. 51–52 (No. 45) = MAHAFFY, John P. / SMYLY, J. Gilbert, *The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Part III*. Cunningham Memoirs XI, Dublin, 1905, p. 60–61 (no. 28 e).

47 SETHE, Kurt / PARTSCH, Josef, *Demotisch Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit*. ASAW Phil.-Hist. Klasse 32, Leipzig, 1920, p. 127–155 (nos. 7–8).

48 SOTTAS, Henri, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille, Tome 1er*, Paris, 1921, p. 9–22 (nos. 1–4); p. 9–12 (nos. 1–2) = SETHE / PARTSCH, *Bürgschaftsrecht*. ASAW, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 32, p. 464–486 (nos. 22–23).

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have received the hand" (*šp=y ḏr.t*) of the farmer Kerise, "who is imprisoned by you" (*nt ḏtḥ n-ḏr.ṯ=k*), and that "you have given him to my hand" (*tỉ=k s n-ḏr.ṯ=y*). In lines 8 and 9, he goes on to say that "I will cause that he is present before you (*ʿḥʿ*) … on any day which you set," and in lines 9 and 10 he says that "If you seek him, I will bring him to you (*ỉw=y ỉn=f n=k*) to the place where you shall say … within 5 days of seeking him." The guarantor thus promised to produce the detainee within 5 days after being requested to do so.

Several Greek surety declarations for prisoners have also survived, in *Chrest.Mitt.* 35,[49] and *P.Hib.* I 92 and 93.[50] These Greek surety declarations are written in the third person, in contrast to Demotic surety declarations. The vocabulary is again similar to some phrases in the Greek imprisonment ostraca, notably "he has been given" (παραδέδοται). For example, in *P.Hib.* I 92, dated to Year 22 of Ptolemy II (263 BCE), Mnason and Hegemon are said to be "guarantors" (ἔγγυοι) for Timokleous, "on the condition that they deliver him" (ἐφ' ὧι πα[ραδ]ώσ[ονται αὐ]τὸν) to the strategos in Herakleopolis, "until the decision of the court case" (ἕως γνώσεως περὶ τῆς δίκης) "in which Apollonius placed him on bail" (ἧς {εγ}ἐνεγύησεν αὐτὸν Ἀπολλώνιος). *P.Hib.* I 93, on the other hand, is addressed to Diodoros, "who is guarantor for presence" (ἐγγύωι μονῆς), "on the condition that he shall produce him" (ἐφ' ὧι παρέξεται αὐτὸν) before the strategos in Herakleopolis.

Other Uses of Guarantors and Sureties:

The imprisonment ostraca suggest that many prisoners were imprisoned for debt, because they were "brought" (*ỉn s*) or "given to the hand" (*tỉ=w s n-ḏr.t*) "for the remainder of the money" (*n sp ḥḏ*). This high frequency of imprisonment for debt may be the result of the widespread use of guarantors and surety declarations to minimize the risk of default on financial obligations, both by the Ptolemaic state and by private individuals. Failure to fulfill financial obligations could result in imprisonment of debtors or their guarantors, until the debts were repaid or further guarantors were found for release on bail.

It may not be coincidence that the most common titles of prisoners in the imprisonment ostraca are launderers and brewers, two occupations associated with commodity monopolies, because the Ptolemaic state required guarantors and surety declarations for royal farmers, tax farmers, and underwriters of and workers in commodity monopolies, in addition to prisoners released on bail. Farmers who leased royal land (royal farmers) and owed rent in grain or money to the state were required to produce guarantors to make surety declarations, to guarantee that they would pay the stipulated rent. Demotic examples have been published in *P.Bürgsch.* 1–6.[51] Individuals who bid to underwrite revenues from tax collection (tax farmers) or the operation of commodity monopolies had to produce guarantors willing to provide sureties for payment one-twentieth greater than their bids, to ensure that they would pay the difference if revenues did not match or exceed their bids,

49 MITTEIS / WILCKEN, *Grundzüge II.II*, p. 44–45 (no. 35).

50 GRENFELL, Bernard P. / HUNT, Arthur S., *The Hibeh Papyri I*. EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs 7, London, 1906, p. 259–262 (nos. 92–93).

51 SETHE / PARTSCH, *Bürgschaftsrecht*. ASAW, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 32, p. 3–126 (nos. 1–6), revised in FELBER, Heinz, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit: Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Aspekten einer Gruppe von demotischen Urkunden*. ÄgAbh 58, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 204–208 (4.1. Bürgschaftserklärungen).

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according to *P.Rev.*, cols. 18–19 (general tax farming), cols. 34–35 (the apomoira on vineyards and orchards), and col. 56 (the oil monopoly).[52] Demotic examples of surety declarations for tax farmers have been published in *P.Bürgsch.* 13, 13bis, 13ter and 14 (= *P.Eleph.Gr.* 27 + *P.Eleph.Dem.* 1; *P.Eleph.Dem.* 2 + 3; *P.Eleph.Dem.* 4; and *P.Eleph.Dem.* 6).[53] Greek examples have been published in *P.Hib.* I 95,[54] and *P.Petrie* III 57 a–b.[55]

Workers in commodity monopolies also had to produce guarantors to make surety declarations for presence to guarantee that they actually showed up for work; and dealers in commodity monopolies were required to produce guarantors to make surety declarations for payment to guarantee that they would hand over the revenues from the commodities that they sold, or the commodities themselves. The authorities recorded these declarations in individual surety documents. Demotic examples have been published in *P.LilleDem.* I 6–11,[56] and *P.LilleDem.* II 34–96,[57] and Greek examples have been published in *P.Hib.* I 94,[58] and in *Enchoria* 16, p. 12–19 (nos. 2–4).[59] The authorities also recorded the guarantors in running lists. A Greek example has been published in *P.Petrie* III 58 e,[60] which names individuals also known from individual surety documents.[61]

Private lessors and lenders could also require guarantors and surety declarations for lessees and borrowers, but their surety declarations were usually incorporated into their lease or loan contracts. Demotic examples are rare, but a few have been published in *P.Bürgsch.* 9–12. These Demotic contracts were written in the first person, beginning with the promises of the lessee or borrower to the lessor or lender, followed by the statement of another individual or individuals that he, she or they were guarantors (for payment) (*šp-ḏr.t (n tỉ.t)*).[62] Greek examples are more common, and most of these Greek contracts were written in the third person and simply stated that an individual or individuals were guarantors (for payment) (ἔγγυος / ἔγγυοι (εἰς ἔκτεισιν)).[63]

52 BINGEN, Jean, *Papyrus Revenue Laws, Nouvelle edition du texte*, SGUA Beiheft 1, Göttingen, 1952.

53 SETHE / PARTSCH, *Bürgschaftsrecht*. ASAW, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 32, p. 287–384 (nos. 13, 13bis, 13ter and 14).

54 GRENFELL / HUNT, *Hibeh Papyri I*. EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs 7, p. 264–265 (no. 95).

55 MAHAFFY, John P. / SMYLY, J. Gilbert, *The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Part III*. Cunningham Memoirs XI, Dublin, 1905, p. 164–167 (nos. 57 a–b).

56 SOTTAS, Henri, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille, Tome 1er*, Paris, 1921, p. 25–37 (nos. 6–11).

57 CENIVAL, Françoise de, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'Époque Ptolémaïque: P. dém. Lille 34 à 96*, Paris, 1974, p. 20–119 (nos. 34–96); CLARYSSE, Willy, "Notes on some Graeco-Demotic surety contracts," *Enchoria* 8.2, 1978, p. 5–8.

58 GRENFELL / HUNT, *Hibeh Papyri I*. EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs 7, p. 262–264 (no. 94).

59 CLARYSSE, Willy, "The financial problems of the beer-seller Ameneus", *Enchoria* 16, 1988, p. 11–21 and pls. 2–3, especially p. 12–19 (nos. 2–4).

60 MAHAFFY / SMYLY, *Petrie Papyri III*. Cunningham Memoirs XI, p. 170–172 (no. 58 e).

61 CLARYSSE, Willy, "Sureties in Fayum villages", in H. Harrauer / R. Pintaudi, (eds), *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak (P.Horak), 1. Teil*. Papyrologica Florentina 34, Florence, 2004, p. 279–281, especially p. 279–280.

62 SETHE / PARTSCH, *Bürgschaftsrecht*. ASAW, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 32, p. 155–287 (nos. 9–12).

63 VAN SOEST, H. W., *De civielrechtelijke ΕΓΓΥΗ (garantieovereenkomst) in de Griekse papyri uit het Ptolemaeische tijdvak (mit einer deutschen Zusammenfassung)*. Studia et Documenta 7, Leiden, 1963.

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Conclusions

Imprisonment played an important role not only in Ptolemaic law enforcement, but also in state and private debt collection. Both the state and private contractors could require guarantors and surety declarations for those with financial responsibilities, thereby placing those responsible and their guarantors at risk of imprisonment for default. At the same time, those imprisoned could be released on bail if they could pay their debts or could provide further guarantors and surety declarations. The imprisonment ostraca from Philadelphia in the Fayum demonstrate the Ptolemaic state's careful management and documentation of imprisonment, guarantors and release on bail, reflecting their importance for maintaining law, order and revenues.

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Egyptian Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: A Take from the Fayum—School Textbooks and *P.Schulübung* Revisited*

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One of the main advantages lying in the study of textual material from Graeco-Roman Fayum and one of the main reasons for the long-standing interest of scholars in it—perfectly exemplified in the series of Fayum Colloquia initiated by Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit—rests in its twofold potential for historical investigation. On the one hand, there is its local value: needless to say, the evidence available sheds plenty of light on uncountable aspects of the life and history of the institutions, communities, families, and even single individuals that populated the Fayum, to the point that our discipline (be that Egyptology, papyrology, ancient history, or else) has developed a closer acquaintance with this semi-oasis than with hardly any other region of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. On the other hand, the Fayum can also function—surely, always with the potential *caveat*s and not necessarily in a blanket fashion—as a case-study for the investigation of wider phenomena and aspects of Graeco-Roman Egypt's civilisation on a country-wide scale.[1]

It is precisely in the latter perspective that I intend to offer this contribution. Its topic is Egyptian schooling in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and more specifically some of the texts that were employed in an educational context. The textual sources I will use in the present article stem from the Fayum. Yet, the overall discussion based on these texts with regard to the salient features of Egyptian schooling is to be understood not as being limited to the situation in the Fayum only—we have no reason to surmise some sort of Fayumic *Sonderstellung* in this domain—, but as relevant and applicable to the entirety of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

I will begin my discussion by offering a brief overview of the present state of scholarship relating to Egyptian education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. This will be accompanied by the presentation of a project, currently in its early stages, aimed at the study of schooling and school texts in Egyptian from the Late and, especially, Graeco-

* I should like to thank the organisers for inviting me to the 2016 Fayum Colloquium, and all participants for their valuable feedback on my paper. Thanks are also due to Verena Lepper and Myriam Krutzsch (Berlin) and to Arthur Verhoogt and Brendan Haug (Ann Arbor) for facilitating my study of *P.Schulübung* and its new fragment in their respective papyrus collections.

1 See the image of the Fayum as a 'miniature Egypt', as originally phrased by Willy Clarysse and further elaborated in STADLER, Martin A., "Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit – Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike: Eine Einführung", in C. Arlt / M.A. Stadler (with U. Weinmann) (eds.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit: Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike*, Wiesbaden, 2013, p. 1–6, at 2.

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Roman Periods. It is in preparation for this project that my attention has focused on the textual material originating from the Fayum—and in particular on one crucial text, known as *P.Schulübung*. The following section of this article will focus precisely on this text, offering a re-analysis of it and giving the first presentation of an additional unpublished fragment of this manuscript, which also sheds further light on its supposed provenance, linking it with the Fayum. Based on this re-assessment, I will propose a new interpretation of this unusual text: no longer as a school exercise, according to the long-held traditional view, but as a school textbook. To support my argument, I will compare *P.Schulübung* with other manuscripts that I believe also preserve teaching manuals, in an attempt to identify what the shared features of this technical genre may be. Further comparison with contemporary Egyptian (and also Greek) teaching material will help better understand how such school textbooks may have fitted in the context of Egyptian education in Hellenistic and Roman times.

Egyptian School Texts and Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Project

The topic of scribal education and teaching/learning practices in ancient Egypt has traditionally been a popular subject of study. Its focus, however, has typically been on the dynastic period—especially the New Kingdom, a time to which a large portion of the surviving evidence dates, inclusive of sources from well-documented sites such as Ramessid Deir el-Medina. A significant amount of scholarly literature has appeared on the subject.[2] When it comes to the topic of schooling in the Graeco-Roman Period, however, the situation is surprisingly different, and in a manner that is exemplary of the divide between Egyptological and papyrological scholarship, a divide which often generates an artificial—and detrimental—separation between what is perceived as Hellenistic Egypt and indigenous ('Egyptian') Egypt.

In fact, extensive research in the field of schooling in Graeco-Roman Egypt has been carried out with exclusive regard to the textual evidence in Greek and to Hellenistic education (the Greek παιδεία), as exemplified in the excellent work of Raffaella Cribiore.[3] The flip side of the coin, i.e. scribal education in the Egyptian language and scripts (primarily, but not exclusively, in demotic), has instead suffered from a relative neglect, and the scholarship in the field has lagged significantly behind its Greek counterpart—again, a lamentable phenomenon with which papyrologists and Egyptologists working on Graeco-Roman material are all too familiar, in many an area of their disciplines. Contributions on individual school texts, offering text editions with the addition, at times, of a more extended discussion of problems related to ancient education, have been

2 This includes full monographs, specialised or introductory articles (e.g., encyclopaedia entries), and even catalogues of museum exhibitions—for example, see, respectively: BRUNNER, Hellmut, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, Wiesbaden, 1957; FISCHER-ELFERT, Hans-W., "Education", in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2001, vol. I, p. 438–442; LEOSPO, Enrichetta (ed.), *La scuola nell'antico Egitto*, Torino, 1997.

3 See CRIBIORE, Raffaella, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. ASP 36, Atlanta GA, 1996, and CRIBIORE, Raffaella, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton – Oxford, 2001.

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published since the early times of demotic studies,[4] and continue to appear to the present day in good number[5]—unsurprisingly so, considering the vast amount of such texts that are extant. Further to that, a small number of overviews and studies dealing in wider terms with the topic of Egyptian education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt is also available.[6] However, there exist yet no corpora gathering all or at least a vast portion of known school texts (be their taxonomy based on chronological—Graeco-Roman Period—or language/script-related—e.g., demotic—criteria), let alone comprehensive and detailed studies on school and education in Egyptian at the time.[7]

In order to fill such a lacuna in the discipline, I have begun work on the compilation of a corpus of school texts in Egyptian from Hellenistic and Roman times (in fact, also including the less copious material from the Late Period), as the first step in a project aimed at the overall study of Egyptian school practices and education from Late to Roman Egypt. The focus of the project will be textual, at least at this stage, for textual sources constitute the most visible type of material and also the overwhelming majority of all available sources. Indeed, structures whose archaeological remains can be recognised as teaching or learning spaces are very rarely identifiable (as is true not only for the Graeco-Roman Period, but equally for the dynastic one), since school activities did not normally occur in specifically devoted spaces, i.e. fit-for-purpose facilities. Exceptions are very rare, and their certain identification often partly depends on the presence of school-related textual material on their premises. One renowned example, which was identified in recent years, is the fourth-century AD and Greek-language school pertaining to the house of Serenos in Trimithis/Amheida, in the Dakhla Oasis.[8]

4 See, e.g., BRUGSCH, Heinrich, "Demotische Paradigmata", *ZÄS* 16, 1878, p. 1. This study is further developed in HESS, Jean J., "Demotica", *ZÄS* 35, 1897, p. 144–149, at 147–149.

5 See, for instance, JOHNSON, Janet H., "Compound Nouns, Especially Abstracts, in Demotic", in R. Jasnow / G. Widmer (eds.), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 2, Atlanta GA, 2017, p. 163–171, at 170–171.

6 In terms of brief overviews, see, e.g., DEPAUW, Mark, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. PapBrux 28, Brussels, 1997, p. 115–116, or QUACK, Joachim F., *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III, *Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*. EQA 3, Berlin, 2016 (3rd ed.), p. 14 (with regard to the preservation of literary texts in a school milieu). As for the main general studies on the topic, these are: ERICHSEN, Wolja, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung in demotischer Schrift*. DVSM 31/4, København, 1948, p. 9–14; KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula, "Schüler und Schulwesen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit", *SAK* 1, 1974, p. 227–246; DEVAUCHELLE, Didier, "Remarques sur les méthodes d'enseignement du démotique (À propos d'ostraca du Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak)", in H.-J. Thissen / K.-T. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg, 1984, p. 47–59; TASSIER, Emmanuel, "Greek and Demotic School-exercises", in J.J. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. SAOC 51, Chicago, 1992, p. 311–315. The first three studies also contain first editions of a number of demotic school texts.

7 The only preliminary attempt at such a study has unfortunately remained unpublished: TASSIER, Emmanuel, *Demotische schooloefeningen*, Leuven, 1986 (unpublished MA dissertation). I sincerely thank here its author for sharing with me a copy of his work.

8 See, for instance, CRIBIORE, Raffaella / DAVOLI, Paola, "New Literary Texts from Amheida, Ancient Trimithis (Dakhla Oasis, Egypt)", *ZPE* 187, 2013, p. 1–14, and CRIBIORE, Raffaella, "Literary Culture and Education in the Dakhla Oasis", in R.S. Bagnall / N. Aravecchia / R. Cribiore / P. Davoli / O.E. Kaper / S. McFadden (eds.), *An Oasis City*, New York, 2015, p. 179–192.

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The corpus is to include full editions (accompanied by images) of all known school texts from the period, be they previously published, which will be re-edited, or unpublished material, which will receive here its *editio princeps*.[9] The texts will be gathered into two main groups: school exercises (that is, the written work of learners) and textbooks (that is, teaching manuals). Within each group, they will be ordered according to their script(s), with the vast majority being demotic, and a smaller number including other scripts, primarily hieratic and Greek (or Greek and demotic combined). A further grouping will be introduced based on the type of text at hand—for instance, lexicographical or mathematical. The corpus will be accompanied by a collection of *testimonia* on education, with references stemming from both literary and documentary texts from the period (also, mainly in demotic).

The material gathered in the corpus will undergo a comparative study both in terms of its textual content and of its materiality, so as to develop and refine current taxonomies and understanding of what is here most broadly defined under the working definition of 'school texts', through the identification of patterns and diagnostic features (both text- and manuscript-related).[10] Special attention will be devoted to two research questions. Firstly, what level of standardisation, if any at all, can be discerned in these texts, particularly with regard to the school textbooks—with the intent to verify what essential steps can be recognised in the process of Egyptian schooling (as if in an ideal 'syllabus'). Secondly, what degree of continuity can be observed between indigenous Egyptian school traditions as attested in Graeco-Roman times and earlier in the dynastic period (specifically the New Kingdom), as well as whether any innovations may be attributed to influences from or interactions with external traditions, namely Greek.[11] Overall, the results of the project are expected to be twofold. On the one hand, they will advance our understanding of Egyptian

9 Owing to the relative frequency with which one encounters school texts in museum collections, the unpublished items include both material identified by the present writer as well as material discovered and either shared or handed over to me by colleagues. Other colleagues who may be currently working on or know of more unpublished school texts are most welcome to contact me.

10 The problematic nature of school texts, combined with the potential elusiveness or ambiguity of many believed-to-be-such texts (especially when poorly preserved), is oftentimes flagged in studies on the topic (see, e.g., TASSIER, in Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society*. SAOC 51, p. 311–315, at 311–312). For a case in point, which highlights the risks hiding in the (mis)identification of school texts, see for instance the Narmouthis ostracon archive, which was originally believed to be fully of a school-related nature (see BRESCIANI, Edda / PERNIGOTTI, Sergio / BETRÒ, Maria C., *Ostraka demotici da Narmuti* I, *(nn. 1–33)*. Quaderni di Medinet Madi 1, Pisa, 1983, p. 2–3), an assessment that was corrected only in later publications.

11 On this problem, see already TASSIER, in Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society*. SAOC 51, p. 311–315, at 313. Recent advancements in the study of both Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (see above, fn. 3) and of Graeco-Egyptian multilingualism put us today in a much stronger position to tackle these questions, also thanks to the additional wealth of material now available. Consider, to mention but one example, the potential of comparing demotic lexicographical exercises on anatomical vocabulary such as those in O.Strasb. Dem. *s.n.* (Trismegistos no.—henceforth, TM—52208) and O.Leid. Dem. 487 (TM 49513)—newly discussed by CLARYSSE, Willy, "A Demotic School Exercice [*sic*] in Two Copies", in F. Haikal (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*. BdE 164, Le Caire, 2015, p. 81–83—with the similar bilingual (Greek and demotic) list of body parts in the recently published *PSI* XVI 1616 (TM 220511).

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educational practices over the *longue durée*, expanding our knowledge of Egyptian schooling—currently focused overwhelmingly on the second millennium BC—into the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. On the other hand, by complementing our knowledge of Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt with its contemporary Egyptian counterpart, it will offer for the first time a holistic and integrated view of school practices in the multicultural society of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

In the early phases of this project, I have focused my attention on what is considered to be the most significant specimen of a demotic school text published to date, the so-called *P.Schulübung*. And it is to it, and with it also to the Fayum, that I now turn my discussion.

P.Schulübung: School Exercises from Thebes or Teaching Textbook from the Fayum?

P.Schulübung is the publication name under which the *recto* of the demotic papyrus P.Berlin P 13639 (TM 48893) is commonly known. It consists of a fragment measuring 32.2 × 11.6 cm (height by width, maximal dimensions), and preserves the majority of a column of text of 34 lines (both the top and bottom margins are extant), with damage primarily affecting the left side of its bottom section (corresponding to the final sections of l. 24–34). The papyrus seems to be a palimpsest—though it is hard to decide unambiguously whether the dark shades may in fact be imputable to ink transfer from other inscribed papyri with which our item may have been in contact. The text on it, which is written along the fibres, appears to be of early Ptolemaic date, assignable to the third century BC or thereabouts. The manuscript was purchased in 1929 in Egypt by the Berlin-based Coptologist Carl Schmidt,[12] and then entered the papyrus collection of the Berlin Egyptian Museum. It was published in 1948 by Wolja Erichsen,[13] who immediately recognised it on account of its peculiar content as a text related to school and scribal training. The text consists of 36 sentences of different length, in most cases following a stichic arrangement (one sentence per line)[14] and all displaying constructions of the demotic verbal form known as the optative, based on the paradigm *my sḏm=f* 'he should hear'. The topics dealt with in each sentence are extremely disparate, with no necessary logical coherence linking one sentence with the next. For example, to quote two of the briefest sentences, l. 1 and 11 read respectively:

my sḏm(=w) tꜣ ẖ(.t)-md.t	'the facts should be listened to';
my ỉr=w sḥṱ.w (n) tgr	'lights should be lit (lit. made) presently'.

The scribe's intent to write down examples of this verbal construction for the purpose of training is patent. More specifically, Erichsen considered the text to be an extensive specimen of a school exercise, on account of philological features that led him to consider its scribe as rather unaccomplished—such features including supposed cases of aberrant

12 On Schmidt (1868–1938), see BIERBRIER, Morris L., *Who Was Who in Egyptology*. London, 2012 (4th ed.), p. 494.

13 ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4.

14 Within the preserved text, the stychic layout is infringed in the case of a few lines containing each two short optative sentences (l. 11, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31), and in that of another few lines that include the continuation of sentences from those above (l. 7, 16, 25, 26).

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writings and grammatical mistakes.[15] Hence, the title of his publication and the name of *P.Schulübung* that has since stuck to this manuscript.

With regard to the papyrus' origin, Erichsen related that, at the time of purchase, the dealer had given its provenance as the area of Thebes—an uncertain attribution that, as I will discuss shortly, has never been questioned.[16]

A second phase in the modern life of *P.Schulübung* came with the publication of the text that the papyrus bears on its *verso* (TM 80210). Erichsen identified this side too as containing 'Schreibübungen eines Schülers',[17] yet he did not consider it worthy of publication, due to its very poor state of preservation. It took longer than half a century for this other text to be published, in 2002, through the care of Karl-Theodor Zauzich.[18] The hand on this side is also high Ptolemaic in date, and I believe it to be the same as that of the *recto* (despite some differences in its overall appearance, caused by its faster *ductus* and the ruggedness experienced by the scribe in writing across the fibres). As suggested by Erichsen, the text was indeed confirmed as school-related in nature—however, of a different kind from that on the *recto*, and one at the time unknown within demotic text production: model letters.[19] The text is indeed poorly preserved. Almost half of the *verso*'s surface is blank, occupied by an *intercolumnium*: to its right are the very ends of 19 lines from a column (the bottom third of which is lost),[20] and to its left the beginnings of 31 lines pertaining to the following column (which, unlike the former, is preserved to its full height). The layout on this side is no longer stichic: thus, also the text's left margin is justified. More remarkably, the text is divided into paragraphs, for a total of eight: three in the right column, five in the left one. Each paragraph is a separate letter.

Our knowledge of *P.Schulübung* can now be extended thanks to an additional and unpublished fragment from the same manuscript, which I had the opportunity to identify a few years ago whilst surveying the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. As I will now discuss, the additional fragment provides important information in terms of both the nature of the text and of the provenance of the papyrus. The new fragment bears the inventory number P.Michigan Dem. 6445a. It is approximately half the size of its Berlin fellow, with its maximal dimensions being 16.3 × 12.5 cm (height by width), from the upper half of the scroll (the top margin is extant). Better than simply belong to the same manuscript, the Berlin and Michigan fragments in fact join one another directly, with

15 ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4, p. 3–4. This will be further discussed later in this section.

16 ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4, p. 3.

17 ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4, p. 15 (fn. 1).

18 ZAUZICH, Karl-T., "Demotische Musterbriefe", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*. CNIP 27, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 395–401. The article also includes a series of proposed corrections to Erichsen's edition of the *recto* (p. 399–401).

19 That these letters are to be intended as models, rather than as drafts or copies of real letters, is revealed by their clearly fictional contents, as already convincingly argued by ZAUZICH, in Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*. CNIP 27, p. 395–401, at 396.

20 The amount of text preserved for this column is so exiguous, that the editor leaves it unpublished, offering only a list of its few, clearly legible words—see ZAUZICH, in Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*. CNIP 27, p. 395–401, at 398.

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P.Michigan Dem. 6445a preserving, on the *recto*, the ends of the three longest lines from the Berlin fragment (l. 5, 6, 15), the *intercolumnium*, and the best part of 18 lines from the following column (fig. 1, p. 127). On the *verso*, a total of 16 lines (the last two of which are almost completely lost) integrate the top half of the first column of the Berlin fragment, reconstituting it almost in full—though the original lines of text were so long, their very beginnings are still missing from the Michigan papyrus (fig. 2, p. 128). This marks a significant improvement from the previous situation, when, as we saw (fn. 20), the editor Zauzich was unable to publish virtually anything of the text from this column. The nature of the texts on the Michigan fragment is the same as that seen above for the Berlin one. On the *verso*, of course, are the model letters—with the first two of the series (col. x+1, l. 1–15) now being preserved almost in their totality. On the *recto*, the new column also bears sentences built with the *my sḏm=f* optative form: namely, 14 more such sentences survive in the usual stichic arrangement,[21] therefore bringing the total of these sentences on the *recto* of the papyrus to 50, distributed over 52 lines.

Archival records in the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan offer some interesting data as to the provenance of P.Michigan Dem. 6445a and, hence, of *P.Schulübung* as a whole, for they register this item as purchased in the Fayum during the University of Michigan's field season of 1932, at a time when Michigan was archaeologically active in the sites of Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos.[22] Though, in theory, a papyrus purchased from dealers in the Fayum could have originally been unearthed at any site within Egypt, and not necessarily in the Fayum itself, it cannot be denied that this piece of information casts further doubts on the Berlin fragment's alleged (and based on second-hand information) Theban provenance. Such doubts are strengthened by the fact that most of the demotic Michigan papyri—including those pertaining to the same purchase lot as our fragment—do originate from the Fayum.[23] Looking at the Berlin fragment, which was purchased in 1929 (three years before its Michigan peer), the possibility of a Fayumic origin would not be discordant with what we know of Carl Schmidt's acquisition activity in Egypt, which saw him frequently involved with material from the area of the Fayum.[24] All of the above is, admittedly, only circumstantial evidence—though at least sufficient to debunk once and for all the purely hearsay-based Theban provenance of *P.Schulübung*.

21 A few exceptions concern those lines that include the continuation of sentences from the previous ones (l. 10, 14). The beginnings of l. 16–18 are lost, but at least l. 16 can undoubtedly be restored as starting with the usual optative.

22 More generally on the history of the Michigan papyrus collection, see BOAK, Arthur E.R., "The Building of the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection", *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* 66/10, 1959, p. 35–42. Specifically on the demotic papyri, see CRUZ-URIBE, Eugene, "Michigan Demotic Papyri Collection: A Preliminary Report", in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses: München 1985* IV, *Geschichte – Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte – Rechtsgeschichte – Nachbarkulturen*. BSAK 4, Hamburg, 1991, p. 213–218.

23 See CRUZ-URIBE, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses* IV. BSAK 4, p. 213–218, at 215.

24 On Schmidt's involvement in the early twentieth-century Egyptian antiquities trade, see HAGEN, Fredrik / RYHOLT, Kim, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H.O. Lange Papers*. Scientia Danica: Series H, Humanistica 4/8, Copenhagen, 2016, *passim* (references in index at p. 329).

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Nevertheless, further elements that are, in this instance, internal to the text may also contribute to suggesting a Fayumic origin.

These features concern an aspect of orthography in our text: the writing of the relative converter. This is typically written throughout this text as *nt-ỉw* (ϵⲧϵ), even where the syntax would require simple *nt* (ϵⲧ)—see e.g., on the *recto*, col. x+1, l. 2:

> *my skꜣ=w nꜣ ꜣḥ.w (n) Pr-ʿꜣ nt-ỉw ỉ-ỉr-ḥr=k*
> ‘the fields of Pharaoh that are before you (m.s.) should be ploughed’.

The only occurrence of *nt* alone is in association with the partly lexicalised phrase *nt-nb nt* ‘everything which’ (see col. x+1, l. 22, quoted in full below in this article). The use of the writing *nt-ỉw* is so recurrent in *P.Schulübung* that it cannot be dismissed as a mistake. Rather, it should probably be interpreted as being caused by phonetic reasons, as indeed scholars have suggested in the case of other texts in which this phenomenon is also observed.[25] Interestingly, this orthographic idiosyncrasy is best and most commonly known from demotic documents originating from the Fayum and the Memphite area. Although, pending further research, I would refrain from identifying this writing of *nt* as *nt-ỉw* as a specifically Fayumic-Memphite trait, I would nevertheless argue that its frequency of attestation in Fayumic material, combined with the place of purchase of the Michigan fragment (and the completely unsubstantiated nature of the claim of a Theban origin for the Berlin fragment), makes a Fayumic provenance quite probable. One may even wonder whether Tebtunis, and specifically the rubbish heaps east of the temple, which contained much Ptolemaic material, could be considered as the findspot of our text—though this must remain for now only a hypothesis.[26] Indeed, the time of the acquisition of both the Berlin and the Michigan fragments (respectively, 1929 and 1932) is suspicious, as it perfectly overlaps with the period of the Italian excavations in Tebtunis—a time during which substantial illicit diggings at the site continued occurring and even intensified through the hands of locals who, hunting for papyri, took advantage of any absence of the Italian mission’s members.[27]

25 See SETHE, Kurt / PARTSCH, Josef, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit*. AAWL 32, Leipzig, 1920, p. 81 (n. 31b), and, most recently, MARTIN, Cary J., *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis (P. Dem. Memphis) in the Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the British Museum and the Hermitage Museum*. PALMA Egyptology 5, Turnhout, 2009, p. 84–85 (n. r), and MARTIN, Cary J., “Another Legal Template from Tebtynis: P. BM EA 10643”, in F. Haikal (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*. BdE 164, Le Caire, 2015, p. 277–302, at 283 (n. to l. 4).

26 Interestingly, fragments of two texts of exactly the same type as those in *P.Schulübung* have recently been unearthed in Tebtunis: namely, SCA 6856 (model letters) and SCA 6851 (sentences with the optative), as discussed by Kim Ryholt in this same colloquium—see now RYHOLT, Kim, “Demotic Papyri from the Franco-Italian Excavations at Tebtunis, 1988–2016”, p. 129–149, at 132, 146–147, in the present volume.

27 On the history of the early excavations—both illicit and official—in Tebtunis, see, for instance, GALLAZZI, Claudio / HADJI-MINAGLOU, Gisèle, *Tebtynis* I, *La reprise des fouilles et le quartier de la chapelle d’Isis-Thermouthis*. FIFAO 42, Le Caire, 2000, p. 4–13 (especially p. 8–9, fn. 13), and ANDORLINI, Isabella, “La collezione dei papiri demotici dell’Istituto Papirologico «Girolamo Vitelli» a Firenze”, in F. Hoffmann / H.J. Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*. StudDem 6, Leuven, 2004, p. 13–26, at 13–20.

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Having presented the content of both fragments of *P.Schulübung*, its modern history, and its provenance, let us now have another look at the text and reconsider its nature. As we saw above, after recognising the scribal training-related nature of the text (particularly that on the *recto*), Erichsen was quick to categorise it as the 'Übung eines Schülers',[28] an interpretation that has always been maintained since.[29] But is *P.Schulübung* actually a school exercise? Or is it perhaps another kind of text, still closely linked to a teaching environment? To see if we can question Erichsen's conclusion, let us begin by scrutinising the evidence on which he based his own view—that is, the presence of what he considered to be aberrant writings and plain grammatical errors.

Indeed, when we look closely at the palaeographical and linguistic elements collected by Erichsen in support of his idea that the text was written by a student, I believe that his interpretation of them needs serious revision in all cases: in fact, none can actually be considered to be particularly peculiar nor, surely, symptomatic of the work of an unaccomplished pupil. The following overview collects those features amongst them (in fact, the majority) that I consider worthy of discussion, giving, for each, Erichsen's original view and my revised interpretation.

Orthographical issues:

recto, col. x+1, l. 5, 26: *grpꜣy* 'dove'

> Erichsen[30] points out this short writing of *grmpy* as remarkably unusual.
>
> In fact, it belongs to a group of perfectly well-attested reduced writings,[31] which omit the originally genitival *n* (in demotic, *m* through anticipatory assimilation) of this lexicalised compound (in earlier Egyptian, *gry-(n)-p.t*).[32]

recto, col. x+1, l. 6: *ḫ* 'little'

> Erichsen is puzzled by this writing and does not translate the word in his edition; yet, he considers the possibility that it may be an abridged writing of *ḫm*.
>
> As Erichsen suspects, this is indeed a short writing for *ḫm*. Far from exceptional or the result of a mistake, it is also well-attested.[33]

28 ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4, p. 3.

29 The only exception of which I am aware is the hesitation expressed by VOLTEN, Aksel, "An „Alphabetical" Dictionary and Grammar in Demotic (Pap. Carlsberg XII verso)", in Z. Žába (ed.), *Diatribae quas amici collegae discipuli Francisco Lexa quinque et septuaginta annos nato d[ono] d[ederunt] d[edicaverunt]*, Praha, 1952 (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 508 (fn. 9). As will be clear from the forthcoming discussion, I fully agree with Volten's scepticism.

30 For all of the original editor's remarks here discussed, see ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4, p. 4.

31 See *CDD g*, p. 43, and *DemGl*, p. 585 (both *s.v. grmp*), with variants including *grp*, *grpy*, and *grpʿ*.

32 See *Wb* V, p. 181.1–2, ČERNÝ, Jaroslav, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge etc., 1976, p. 335, and WESTENDORF, Wolfhart, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1965–1977, p. 465 (in the last two, both *s.v.* ϭⲣⲟⲟⲙⲡⲉ).

33 See *CDD ḫ*, p. 90–91 (*s.v. ḫm*).

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recto, col. x+1, l. 9: *sḥṯ* ‘light’

Erichsen notes the presence of the cross-shaped group for *nw* ‘to see’ in lieu of the expected brazier-determinative, and accuses the scribe of writing the wrong determinative.

The cross-like group in this word is not that for *nw*, but the sign combining *ḥḏ*-mace + *ḏ*-snake: . Such a writing of *sḥḏ*/*sḥṯ* (sometimes in combination with the brazier-determinative, sometimes alone as here) is also well-attested.[34]

Grammatical issues:

recto, col. x+1, l. 2, 18: *nt-ỉw* ‘which, who’

Erichsen accuses the scribe of sloppiness for using this writing of the relative converter when instead simple *nt* would have been expected.

Whilst Erichsen’s concern in flagging up this idiosyncrasy is understandable, his accusation of incompetence against the scribe is unfair. This use of *nt-ỉw* is probably a peculiar phonetic writing (see above, within the discussion about the papyrus’ provenance).

recto, col. x+1, l. 20: *my rḫ=w nꜣ ꜥ(.wy).w (n) šm n=w ỉ-ỉr nꜣ wꜥef.w* ‘one should know the places for which the overthrown departed’

Erichsen blames the supposed ‘schoolboy’ of an erroneous construction in this relative clause, namely the omission of the final resumptive pronoun (in this case, *r-r=w*).

In fact, the sentence is correct as it is: the resumptive pronoun is not required, and its omission (which is virtually the norm in similar sentences) is rather an idiomatic feature, surely not a mistake.[35]

The arguments advanced by Erichsen in support of his categorisation of our text as a school exercise can thus easily be rejected. There remains only one passage where an oversight on the part of the scribe has indeed occurred, with the dependent pronoun *st* having been written in lieu of the expected suffix pronoun =*s*, in *recto* col. x+1, l. 11:

my tgr=s{t} r-ḥr=y ‘she should hasten to me’.

34 See *CDD s*, p. 358–360, and *DemGl*, p. 450 (both *s.v. sḥḏ*).

35 Compare our sentence with, e.g., those in P.Vienna D 6165 and 6165a (Egyptians and Amazons), col. 8, l. 37 (*pꜣ mꜣꜥ n šm n=w r-ỉr=w* ‘the place for which they departed’) and col. a2, l. x+23 (*pꜣ mꜣ(ꜥ) n šm n=y r-ỉr=y* ‘the place for which I departed’), where the relative’s antecedent is technically the infinitive *šm* itself—edition in HOFFMANN, Friedhelm, *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri: P.Vindob. D 6165 und P.Vindob. D 61565 A*. MPSNB N.S. 24, Wien, 1995, p. 95, 103, pl. 8, 12. Compare also similar examples of this construction (noun indicating place + infinitive + relative clause: in our case, ‘the places of departing which the overthrown did’) in SPIEGELBERG, Wilhelm, *Demotische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1925, p. 250 (§551)—in all but one instance, the resumptive pronoun is absent here too.

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Here, however, I would hardly see a case of a serious 'grammatical mistake', as advocated by Erichsen—rather, this is more a trivial instance of orthographic inaccuracy due to homophony. This being said, I should also stress that, even if none of the above were the case and Erichsen's list of 'schoolboy'-diagnostic features did include actual anomalous writings and significant grammatical irregularities, I would still be very wary of using the category of scribal 'mistakes' (which is *per se* a very problematic and old-fashioned concept in any type of philological discussion) as a diagnostic element to identify the work of a scribal apprentice or pupil. Egyptian texts of all sorts can contain grammatical irregularities and aberrant writings, yet, for this, they do not necessarily need to be ascribed to a school environment, let alone to the work of a sloppy learner.[36]

If not a school exercise, what is *P.Schulübung* then? I believe it to be part of what we could call a school handbook or teaching textbook of sorts—a teaching, rather than a learning tool, and, as such, a rare specimen of its genre, especially in the documentation currently available.[37] A series of factors point in this direction. First, looking at the *recto*, there is the high number itself of sentences for the practice of a single (and not the most common) type of verbal form, the optative: as we saw, there are 50 of them still extant, some short and simple, others longer, more complex, and including further (albeit short) subordinate clauses—and surely originally there were even more. This suggests that this section of our text pertained more to a grammatical sourcebook than to a pupil's work, for one would hardly imagine it possible that a trainee be required to copy or compose such a high number of sentences in what was a relatively infrequent verbal form in demotic. More likely, such a large pool of examples would make better sense when seen as an extensive repertoire from which a teacher could have chosen at will. Indeed, whilst school exercises—i.e. learners' writings—could surely take this form too, they would have typically included a more limited number of sentences and examples per grammatical topic. Compare, for instance, our text with *P.Demotica* I 6 (= O.Berlin P 12902; TM 88979),[38] a large ostracon containing 11 lines of text almost fully dedicated to the exercise of the negative preterit form *bn-pw=f sḏm* 'he did not hear', which is practiced in the context of some 15 brief sentences of various fictional content—also, with little regard to the overall layout or calligraphy of the writing.[39] It would not be unconceivable to imagine that such

36 See the similar *caveat*s on the inherent subjectivity of such evaluative criteria in TASSIER, in Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society*. SAOC 51, p. 311–315, at 311.

37 See, for instance, DEPAUW, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. PapBrux 28, p. 116, where the category of school exercises is discussed (remarkably enough, in the section about demotic literature, rather than documentary texts—which further highlights the dilemmas faced by scholars in the categorisation of such texts), whilst any mention of school manuals is absent.

38 With a facsimile (more easily readable than the original photograph) as addendum in *P.Demotica* II, pl. 2.

39 I take this opportunity to remark that, on the other hand, I would refrain from considering the materiality of a manuscript (that is, the choice between papyrus or ostracon/tablet as a media) an infallible diagnostic feature of its nature as a school exercise or not. The often all too quickly made equivalence between ostracon (or tablet) = extemporaneous school exercise vs. papyrus = less ephemeral and not pupil-produced text is certainly based on truth (indeed, the majority of school exercises are written on ostraca—as here too is the case—or tablets), yet it cannot be used as a general rule when establishing a text's genre.

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sentences practiced by the pupil on this ostracon could have stemmed originally from a section devoted to the negative preterit in a manual of the same kind as *P.Schulübung*.

Another factor that I believe supports the classification of our text as a textbook is the very quality of its writing. Particularly on the *recto*, but also on the more quickly written *verso*, the hand is skilled, confident, and fine,[40] and certainly a far cry from the hesitant, awkward, or otherwise βραδέως γράφουσαι-hands that so often distinguish learners ancient and modern.

Finally, the third and probably most telling element pointing at a school textbook is the presence of the model letters on the *verso* of *P.Schulübung*. Zauzich, who correctly identified these texts on the *verso* of the Berlin fragment, did not elaborate on the implications that their presence can have on our interpretation of the whole manuscript, accepting Erichsen's assessment of the *recto* as a student's exercise. I am rather of the opinion that such an anthology of epistolary samples, so neatly ordered and paginated (as revealed by the additional portion preserved on the Michigan fragment), is better understood as a collection for teaching purposes, than as the product of a pupil's work. Though few texts comparable to our epistolary anthology are currently known from demotic textual sources, we now are aware of the existence of more such model letters in another Ptolemaic manuscript from Tebtunis, also likely to pertain to a teaching milieu and soon to be published (see above, fn. 26).[41] And templates of a related nature are also attested for legal documents of various kinds, still within the milieu of scribal training, in more Ptolemaic material from Tebtunis, namely, P.BM EA 10648 and 10643 (respectively, TM 69161 and 380682; probably both part of the same scroll).[42]

The presence of an extensive text for the practice of verbal forms on one side and of model letters for scribal training purposes on the other mutually support, in my view, the interpretation of our text as a teaching handbook. Such an integrated view of the whole of *P.Schulübung* eventually resolves the taxonomical awkwardness generated by previously held views, which, looking at one side of it as at a school exercise, were baffled by the ostensibly more formal nature of the other side's model letters.[43]

A distinctive connection between the two sides emerges not only from the identity of the scribal hand and the shared didactic nature of the texts on both *recto* and *verso*, but even from the recurrent use of a certain lexicon—for instance, vocabulary pertaining to legal

40 Despite his different ideas on the nature of the text, even the *editor princeps* remarked as much: see ERICHSEN, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung*. DVSM 31/4, p. 4.

41 Copies of individual letters produced by pupils (i.e., letters as school exercises) may be more commonly encountered, however, they are extremely hard to identify with any degree of certainty. For a possible specimen, see the ostracon ODK-LS 3 *recto* (TM 56186), published by DEVAUCHELLE, in Thissen / Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika*, p. 47–59, at 51–52, 54, pl. 11–12.

42 See MARTIN, Cary J., "How to Write a Demotic Legal Document: P. BM EA 10648", in G. Widmer / D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IX^e^ congrès international des études démotiques: Paris, 31 août - 3 septembre 2005*. BdE 147, Le Caire, 2009, p. 195–222, at 220, and MARTIN, in Haikal (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*. BdE 164, p. 277–302, at 298, respectively. To this, add the information concerning additional fragments that contain models of legal documents in RYHOLT, "Demotic Papyri", p. 129–149, at 145–146, in the present volume.

43 On this, see, for instance, the remarks in QUACK, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III. EQA 3, p. 208.

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jargon and relevant to the writing of documentary texts, which is found not only in the letters, but also in the sentences practicing the optative. Compare, e.g., this passage from one of the letters on the *verso*, col. x+1, l. 3 (on the Michigan fragment):

> *ỉw=y (r) tỉ mḥ=k nt-nb nt (r)-ʿ.wy=f*
> 'I will have you (m.s.) pay everything that he owes'

and this sentence from the *recto*, col. x+1, l. 22 (on the Berlin fragment), whose envisaged scenario is clearly that of a litigation (and potential imprisonment) concerning debts:[44]

> *my ỉn=w rmṯ r šp-ḏr.t=w r tỉ mḥ=w nt-nb nt (r)-ʿ.wy=w*
> 'someone should be brought in in order to guarantee for them and have them pay everything that they owe'.

Based on my view that *P.Schulübung* was a school textbook, what was then its original overall structure? Any answer to this question can only be suggested with caution, for no definite statement can be made, unless more of this manuscript comes to light. It is my opinion that we should probably think of a progressive manual, which, starting from the basics of grammar instruction (or perhaps even of writing?) and moving on to increasingly complex forms (as witnessed in the optative sentences) and, eventually, model texts for prose composition (as in the case of the samples for letter-writing), covered the main steps of scribal education. But, before discussing this further, let us now look beyond our text, to see if similar, comparative material can be identified, which, in turn, may enable us to better define our understanding of *P.Schulübung* and its standing within its textual category.

P.Schulübung in Context: Demotic Teaching Textbooks

As previously mentioned, the genre of teaching, or school, textbooks is one hardly known in the field of demotic studies. The evidence available besides *P.Schulübung* is scant and uncertain. This is not necessarily to say that we do not have such material surviving from antiquity. Rather, the problem lies in the ambiguity of and our general unfamiliarity with this type of evidence, which implies that much of it has probably been overlooked and remains undetected, through our discipline's inability to tell it apart from other, closely related genres. Two pitfalls in particular stand out. On the one hand, if poorly and minimally preserved (i.e., as one or few fragments—as is typically the case), teaching textbooks can most easily be mistaken for school exercises.[45] On the other hand, it can also be very easy for school handbooks to be confused, especially in their lexicographical

44 For a real-life parallel to this situation, see, in the present volume, the paper by MUHS, Brian, "Imprisonment, Guarantors, and Release on Bail in the Ptolemaic Fayum", p. 89–99—including the discussion of terminology at p. 93–94.

45 The case of *P.Schulübung* is an extreme one, since the amount of text that it preserves is surely not negligible. For a properly ambiguous case, see, for instance, P.Vienna D 6464 (TM 56001), published as a school exercise in KAPLONY-HECKEL, *SAK* 1, 1974, p. 227–246, at 244–245. Is this papyrus fragment actually a scrap containing a pupil's grammatical jottings, or perhaps just a surviving fraction of a school manual (as I am personally more inclined to believe)? As it stands, unless more fragments of it are identified in the future, I fear I am unable to offer any meaningful answer founded on hard evidence.

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sections, with *onomastica* proper,[46] which I consider—for the purpose of the present study—as being word-lists for reference and consultation of a more scholarly nature, rather than for training and more introductory teaching purposes.[47] On account of this tricky situation and the high degree of uncertainty, I will limit my discussion of other school textbooks to only two other manuscripts, which I believe can be categorised with confidence as such. Both, as is the case with our *P.Schulübung*, come to us from the Fayum (though, in one of the two cases, such a provenance is only supposed, but cannot yet be proven).

The most significant specimen of the two is a Roman papyrus from the Tebtunis temple library, P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* (TM 55997), approximately dating to the second century AD and of which five fragments of various size survive.[48] It was published in 1952, only four years after Erichsen's study of *P.Schulübung*, by Aksel Volten, who aptly christened it an 'alphabetical dictionary and grammar'.[49] The reason for this label is that—as appears to be clear at first sight, especially from the two largest fragments (frags. a and c)—this manuscript contains a long list of words grouped on the basis of the sound ('letter') by which they begin. Even more remarkably, and what makes this text a clear example of a school textbook rather than an *onomasticon* or similar reference work, is that it lists not only nouns, but also verbs, for each of which it offers both full paradigms of their suffix conjugation (that is, *sḏm=f* 'he heard/may he hear') with pronominal subjects and brief sentences to show their usage in context, and more complex types of conjugations, such as, for instance, the terminative, *šꜥ-tw=f sḏm* 'until he hears' (which is particularly reminiscent of the case of *P.Schulübung* and its treatment of the complex optative form). As Volten put it, this makes the Carlsberg text a hybrid of 'dictionary and grammar in a word-list', with grammatical digressions, or rather 'Belegstellen', being dedicated to the treatment of the

46 The most renowned specimen thereof, from Graeco-Roman Egypt, is the so-called Great Tebtunis Onomasticon (a Roman, in this case primarily hieratic, manuscript), P.Carlsberg 180 + P.Berlin P 10465+14475 + PSI I 76 (TM 56092), published in OSING, Jürgen, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtynis*. The Carlsberg Papyri 2. CNIP 17, Copenhagen, 1998, p. 25–218.

47 Tracing a line between the category of erudite *onomastica* and word-lists connected to a school environment is hardly an easy task, and perhaps one destined to remain partly unfulfilled: a thorough discussion of it goes beyond the scope of the present paper, but the issue will be tackled fully in the context of my overall project. The blurriness and overlap between the two categories is clear in the merged discussion of the two given in DEPAUW, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. PapBrux 28, p. 115. As a concrete example of such a taxonomical *impasse*, see for instance the lexicographical text borne by P.Carlsberg 41a (TM 56002), published in TAIT, W. John, "A Demotic Word-list from Tebtunis: P. Carlsberg 41a", *JEA* 68, 1982, p. 210–227, at 210–225.

48 I here include all five fragments treated in the original publication. I have, however, increasing doubts as to whether frag. e belongs with the other four, since its hand appears to show certain differences to the others. Compare, for instance, the execution of *f* in the third person singular suffix pronoun between frag. e, l. 1–5 (in the hook at the top and in the long tail) and frag. c, col. 3, l. 9 (note the different shape of the top hook and the much shorter tail). It may well be possible that this fragment originally pertained to another manuscript, though still being part of a school text of sorts—inspection of the original will clarify this. Be that as it may, for now and for the purpose of the present discussion, its presence or removal from the body of evidence available for the handbook of P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* changes nothing. This is why, for the sake of completion, I still include it in my discussion of this text.

49 VOLTEN, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508.

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verbs.[50] In terms of its alphabetical structure, all we can say is that words are grouped together based on their initial sound or 'letter', so that we have here remains of the textbook's sections devoted to the 'letters' *r*,[51] *š*, *ḏ* (sometimes in the writing *ṯ*, but in all cases corresponding to a Coptic outcome as ϫ), and *t*. Whether the whole handbook was also originally arranged alphabetically (in the way in which the various 'letter'-sections followed one another) and, thus, whether the fragments should be reordered based on our current knowledge of the ancient Egyptian alphabetical order (as I tentatively did in the following Table 1), it is impossible to tell—for no single fragment happens to bear text belonging to more than one section. Surely, in the 65 years since Volten's publication, our knowledge on the subject of the Egyptian alphabet has advanced considerably, to the point of enabling us to improve on his edition.[52] Before moving to such a revision, however, let us highlight the features that show how P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* is best understood as a school manual, and not as an extended school exercise. These include, on the one hand, the general alphabetical presentation applied to the text, which openly contrasts with the features of ephemerality and lack of planning that so typically characterise school exercises, and, on the other, its original size, which must have been significant (as must also have been the case for *P.Schulübung*). We can conjecture about its size precisely thanks to the alphabetical structure of this work. Looking, for instance, at frag. c, we have the remainder of three columns that are all focused on just one 'letter', *ḏ* (/*ṯ*), and there is no reason to suppose that the other 'letters' would have been treated in a briefer fashion. Indeed, it is even possible that the original work may have included words covering not just part of the Egyptian alphabet—either for only the four 'letters' still attested in it or for a few more as well—, but the whole of it.

In the table below, I present the content and structure of P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* in detail, with a slight reshuffle of the fragments from Volten's edition. As mentioned before, it is now impossible to know in what order the different sections originally came. I present them, purely conventionally and *exempli gratia*, according to the ancient Egyptian alphabetical order (where, *nota bene*, none of the four letters here attested actually follow each other consecutively), but the fact that these sections where alphabetically coherent in their content does not necessarily imply that their overall ordering must also have been alphabetical. Note, also, that the 'letter' *p* is not attested in the papyrus, contrary to what the

50 Volten, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 507. The different treatment reserved to verbal, as opposed to nominal, forms is of particular interest in terms of our understanding of ancient Egyptian linguistic sensibility, and something that we see reflected in other types of lexicographical texts too: see, e.g., the case of the Great Tebtunis Onomasticon, where verbs are listed separately from nouns, in Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtynis*. The Carlsberg Papyri 2. CNIP 17, p. 67–95.

51 If, indeed, the fragment preserving this bit of text (frag. e) belongs with the others—see above, fn. 48.

52 On the ancient Egyptian 'alphabet', see most recently the bibliography collected in Haring, Ben, "*Halaḥam* on an Ostracon of the Early New Kingdom?", *JNES* 74, 2015, p. 189–196, at 194 (fn. 41). Add also the convenient overview in Zauzich, Karl-T., "Ein antikes demotisches Namenbuch", in P.J. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000, p. 27–52, at 30.

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original editor suggested—this was due to an incorrect reading of the verb *šm* 'to go' as *pḥ* 'to arrive'.[53]

Table 1: Content and revised structure of P.Carlsberg 12 verso.

Fragment and lines:[a)]	'Letter':	Content:
e, l. 1–5	***R***	Five *nomina agentis* of the ⲣⲉϥ-compound type: *rmṯ ỉw=f* + infinitive 'a man who does X' → 'an X-er'.
a, l. 1–2	***Š***	Two short sentences beginning with the terminative conjugation *šʿ-tw=f sḏm* 'until he hears'.
l. 3–11		Nine short sentences beginning with the *šʿ-tw-sḏm=f* conjugation ('since he heard').[b)]
col. 1, l. 1–9; col. 2, l. 1–2		Infinitive and *sḏm=f* conjugation of the verb *šm* 'to go' (col. 1, l. 1–4). Seven short sentences beginning with the verb *šm* (col. 1, l. 5–9; col. 2, l. 1–2). NB: whereas the original editor read this section's verb as *pḥ* 'to arrive', the correct reading is *šm*, as confirmed both by the palaeography (note traces of the legs-determinative in col. 1, l. 5) and the alphabetical grouping.
col. 2, l. 3–4		Almost certainly a continuation of the section on words beginning with *š*. The exact content, however, is unclear due to extensive damage.[c)]
b, l. 1–6	***Ḏ*** (/*Ṯ* = ϫ)	Six short sentences beginning with the verb *ḏ* 'to say'.
c, l. 1–4		An uncertain number of damaged short sentences also beginning with the verb *ḏ* 'to say'.[d)]
col. 1, l. 1–16; col. 2, l. 1–12		23 words beginning with the 'letter' *ḏ* (/*ṯ*) (the words in col. 1, l. 1–3 are lost through damage).[e)]
col. 2, l. 13–16; col. 3, l. 1–17		Infinitive and *sḏm=f* conjugation of the verb *ṯ* 'to take' (col. 2, l. 13–16). 15 short sentences beginning with the verb *ṯ* (col. 3, l. 1–17).

53 The editor's inexact reading has since been repeated in all later studies—see, for instance, KAPLONY-HECKEL, *SAK* 1, 1974, p. 227–246, at 244 (n. c), or QUACK, Joachim F., "Die spätägyptische Alphabetreihenfolge und das 'südsemitische' Alphabet", *LingAeg* 11, 2003, p. 163–184, at 166 (fn. 17). It also led Volten, in his pioneering attempt to reconstruct the ancient Egyptian alphabetical order, to the erroneous conclusion that *š* and *p* must have followed one another in a sequence (see VOLTEN, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 507, fn. 5), which we now know not to be the case.

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d, col. 1, l. 1–3	Uncertain (***T***?)	Minimal remains of writing. This column belonged either to the section about words beginning with the 'letter' *t*, which is attested in the next column, or to the section directly preceding it.
col. 2, l. 1–9	***T***	Part of the *sḏm=f* conjugation (its beginning and the original infinitive are lost in lacuna) of the verb *tỉ* 'to give' (col. 2, l. 1–2). Seven short sentences beginning with the verb *tỉ* (col. 2, l. 3–9).

Notes to Table 1:

a) For ease of reference, I maintain here the line numbering of the original edition.
b) On this poorly attested verbal form, which is not to be confused with the better-known terminative, see COLLOMBERT, Philippe, "La forme démotique *šʿ-tw-sḏm=f* (néo-égyptien *(r)-šꜣʿ-m-ḏr-sḏm=f)*", *LingAeg* 12, 2004, p. 21–43.
c) At the beginning of both of these lines, only the word *nb* is preserved. It is probably the case that here does not mark the start of a new sentence, but the continuation of text from the previous line—as clearly occurs, for instance, in frag. c, col. 3, l. 15 and 17 (see also below, n. e to this table, and the remarks in VOLTEN, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 503, n. to frag. a, col. 2, l. 3).
d) The positioning of frag. b ahead of frag. c is confirmed by the fact that they both share this section listing brief sentences with the verb *ḏ*, as was already highlighted by VOLTEN, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 503 (n. to b, l. 1–4).
e) Some lines do not begin with words starting with the 'letter' *ḏ* (/*ṯ*), since they contain text that continues from the previous lines (see VOLTEN, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 504, n. to frag. c, col. 1, l. 14). On the other hand, the case of col. 1, l. 8 is particularly remarkable. It contains the word *gḏꜣḏꜣ* 'hairlock' (see *DemGl*, p. 669, *s.v. ṯꜣỉ-ḏỉ*, ČERNÝ, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 324, and WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 443, both *s.v.* ϫιϫωι), which directly follows *ḏꜣḏꜣ* 'head' (at col. 1, l. 7). The unexpected insertion of a word beginning with *g* in this section, which is dedicated to *ḏ* (/*ṯ*), must be due either to phonetic reasons (compare the Coptic outcomes of this word, which are ϫιϫωι and ϭιϫωι) or—perhaps less likely, given the strict alphabetical criteria used by this text—to the semantic connection between 'head' (which here also appears to be written with the addition of the hair-determinative) and 'hairlock'. Nor can we discard the possibility that the scribe thought of a (fake) etymological connection between the two words. See also the comments in VOLTEN, in Žába (ed.), *Diatribae Francisco Lexa* (= ArOr 20), p. 496–508, at 504 (n. to frag. c, col. 1, l. 8). Or should we perhaps opt for the simplest option and consider this too a case of a phrase running over two lines, 'head of hairlock(s)'?

The original content and composition of this textbook are thus quite clear, despite its battered present condition. In each 'letter'-section, both nouns and verbs were listed. The former included also compounds of the kind of *nomina agentis* (if, again, frag. e does belong to this manuscript). As for the verbs, they received a fuller treatment, which listed, for each, its infinitive, its paradigm with pronominal subjects in the suffix conjugation *sḏm=f*, and finally brief sentences showing its use (in our case, parts of the treatment of the verbs *šm*, *ḏ*, *ṯ*, and *tỉ* survive). Further, special conjugations were also listed, with multiple

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examples of sentences that employ them—in the extant instances, the terminative *šꜥ-tw=f sḏm* and the *šꜥ-tw-sḏm=f* conjugation.

Some interesting comparative as well as contrastive material for P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* is contained in the small fragment P.Vienna D 6464.[54] This scrap focuses on the conjugation of verbs, and, most remarkably, part of it lists prefixes (to which the subject suffix pronouns are attached) on their own, without the addition of any given lexical verb: this is the case with the prefixes of the negative preterit *bn-pw=*, the negative third future *bn-ỉw=*, and with the second tense converter *ỉ-ỉr=* (col. x+2, l. x+1 through to col. x+3, l. x+11). This is much different from what we see in P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* (as well as on the *recto* of *P.Schulübung*, with its optative-themed section). On the other hand, P.Vienna D 6464 also lists verbs in the same way as our Carlsberg text—that is, for each verb it gives the infinitive followed by the complete suffix conjugation *sḏm=f*, as well as (from what we can tell, in most, albeit not all, cases) some brief sentences to exemplify their use.[55] All the same, to mark yet another difference, P.Vienna D 6464 does not appear to show much of an alphabetical order in its structure (except for the possible close association of the negative paradigms beginning with *bn-*).

The potential of P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* for drawing close comparisons with other scribal training-related textual material is not limited to its treatment of verbs. Thus, in the case of the listing of *nomina agentis* found in frag. e (with the by now familiar *caveat* that I raised above—see fn. 48), perfect parallels can be drawn between such lexicographical material as illustrated in the theory of this textbook and as applied in the practice of school exercises: see, for instance, the list of *nomina agentis* on an ostracon (TM 52186) published by Jean J. Hess, which, amongst others, also includes the form *rmṯ ỉw=f sḏy* 'a man who recites' → 'a reciter' (col. 1, l. 1).[56] Exactly the same form is featured in P.Carlsberg 12 *verso*, frag. e, l. 2.

Having analysed the Carlsberg text in further detail, there remains one question to ask. How does the format of P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* relate to what could have been the original format of *P.Schulübung*? Should we posit that the alphabetical arrangement of the former was standard for all manuals of its kind, and therefore suppose that, in its complete original version, *P.Schulübung* followed the same criteria? As tempting as this idea may be, it seems unlikely, on account of at least two reasons. The first concerns the text on its *recto*: here, 52 lines spanning two columns are all devoted to the optative form, that is, they all contain sentences beginning with the imperative *my*. If we were to imagine *P.Schulübung*

54 Published in KAPLONY-HECKEL, *SAK* 1, 1974, p. 227–246, at 244–245. On the uncertain categorisation of its nature, see the discussion above, in fn. 45.

55 See col. x+4, and specifically the case of *rḫ* 'to know', where the full pronominal-subject paradigm of the suffix conjugation is preceded by the simple infinitive (col. x+4, l. 8). For brief sentences, see instead col. x+1, l. x+1–3 and col. x+5, l. 5–7.

56 In HESS, *ZÄS* 35, 1897, p. 144–149, at 147–149. The ostracon's whereabouts are unknown. Still with regard to the subject of nomina agentis, see the papyrus fragment PSI D *s.n.*, frag. 1 (TM 56127), an exiguous scrap of Roman date from Tebtunis, which also preserves part of such a list and may perhaps have belonged to another teaching manual—edition in BRESCIANI, Edda, "Testi lessicali demotici inediti da Tebtuni presso l'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze", in H.-J. Thissen / K.-T. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg, 1984, p. 1–9, at 2, pl. 1–2.

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as having the same word-list-like structure of P.Carlsberg 12 *verso*, covering the whole or just part of the Egyptian alphabet, then we would have to expect at least a few hundred more lines being devoted to other entries (individual words, verbal paradigms, and, most importantly, entire sentences) that also began with the 'letter' *m*. This, taking into consideration that the same could have had to apply to words from part or all of the rest of the Egyptian alphabet, would easily have brought the original number of lines in *P.Schulübung* to several thousands, within an astoundingly high number of columns, even when distributed between both sides of the papyrus scroll. This seems, at best, extremely improbable to me. The second objection to the idea that our text may have been structured alphabetically proceeds from the texts on its *verso*: for the model letters would hardly fall into any kind of alphabetical sorting whatsoever.

But let us now look at the other specimen of teaching textbook that I intend to discuss in this paper, and see what it may contribute to our understanding of the whole genre. The text in question is rather poorly preserved: it survives in *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2c–i (= P.BM EA 10856/1–3),[57] seven fragments of a manuscript written in a large, high Ptolemaic (or perhaps even late dynastic) hand, dating approximately to the fourth or early third century BC. It is believed to originate from within the Fayum,[58] though this information remains unconfirmed, and the connection hence is tenuous. The text was published in 1963 by Edda Bresciani in what is unfortunately a somewhat problematic study.[59] To her merit, the editor recognised the nature of this composition as related to a school environment, though labelling it a 'quaderno di esercizi di uno scolaro'—that is, a collection of school exercises written by a pupil.[60] It should be pointed out, however, that since the time of her study two of the fragments that she had originally included with the others—namely, *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2a–b—have been re-assigned to *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 1, a list of personal names (or, as named by its editor, an ancient 'Demotisches Namenbuch') that belongs with P.Carlsberg 425.[61]

57 For cross-referencing with TM, see the fragments' individual entries in Table 2 below. Since the time of their *editio princeps*, these Michaelidis fragments have entered the collection of the British Museum, and are now registered—along with other fragments from this lot—under the inventory number P.BM EA 10856/1–3 (see BOURRIAU, Janine, "Museum Acquisitions, 1977: Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1977 by Museums in the United Kingdom", *JEA* 65, 1979, p. 151–155, at 153, no. 56). Namely, the fragments in question are: P.BM EA 10856/1e, 10856/1i, 10856/2d, 10856/2g, 10856/2h, 10856/3c, and 10856/3f.

58 See BRESCIANI, Edda, *Testi demotici nella Collezione Michaelidis*. OrAnt Collectio 2, Roma, 1963, p. 1.

59 BRESCIANI, *Testi demotici nella Collezione Michaelidis*. OrAnt Collectio 2, p. 16–24.

60 See BRESCIANI, *Testi demotici nella Collezione Michaelidis*. OrAnt Collectio 2, p. 16.

61 The edition of P.Carlsberg 425 + *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 1+2a–b (= P.BM EA 10852+10856/2a+10856/3b; TM 48731) is in ZAUZICH, in Frandsen / Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, p. 27–52 (NB: mentions of a P.BM EA 10865 appearing *passim* in Zauzich's edition—see, e.g., at p. 32–33—are due to a simple typographical mistake for the correct number, 10856). For the purpose of the present discussion, I will focus on *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2c–i only, since I cannot here thoroughly readdress the work of both Bresciani and Zauzich. I should, nevertheless, warn the reader that the Carlsberg-Michaelidis personal name-list and our Michaelidis teaching handbook share unsettling similarities in terms of their palaeographical and material features, which will need to be re-examined through direct study of the originals. As Zauzich himself sensibly remarked (see

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In what survives of it, our Michaelidis text primarily lists a variety of verbal forms within sentences (thus resembling more closely *P.Schulübung* than P.Carlsberg 12 *verso* and its lexicographical listings inclusive of individual nouns), as well as a number of prepositional phrases (though these may in fact be part of longer sentences, as will be discussed below, in Table 2). Namely, the fragments include sentences that illustrate the use of the vetitive *m-ỉr sḏm* 'do not hear' with various verbs, of the *sḏm=f* 'he heard/may he hear' conjugation of the verb *tỉ* 'to give' with nominal subjects (though damage to the papyrus renders full understanding of this section uncertain), of sentences opening with the particle *tws* 'behold', and of prepositional phrases using the preposition *ẖr* 'under' (but see, on this, my *caveat* above). From an alphabetical point of view, we thus have parts of sections dealing with the 'letters' *m*, *t*, and potentially *ẖ*. Before offering a more detailed description of the papyrus' contents, as well as suggesting an improved ordering of its fragments, I should quickly address the problem of the text's nature, and why I disagree with the *editor princeps*' view that this is a collection of school exercises by a student. The arguments that I would invoke are similar to those that I used above for our other two textbooks, although, admittedly, the evidence in this case is more circumstantial, due to the poor state of preservation in which the papyrus has come to us. These arguments include the ordering of the linguistic material within tidy alphabetical sections, the significant number of different grammatical constructions covered in it, and the large quantity of examples given for each such construction (as is particularly clear in the case of the vetitive and the *tws*-sentences), which suggest that the manuscript was originally an extensive one, when complete.[62]

A closer look at its contents will now allow us to reach a better understanding of its overall structure.

ZAUZICH, in Frandsen / Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, p. 27–52, at 52), it is possible that some or all fragments of the two groups belong in fact to one and the same manuscript, which would have thus borne a school text inclusive of both an onomastic and a grammatical section. Such a combination appears to be attested, for instance, in an unpublished late Ptolemaic or early Roman manuscript also related to teaching activities, P.Berlin P 15709 *verso* (perhaps another teaching handbook; see also QUACK, *LingAeg* 11, 2003, p. 163–184, at 165–166, no. 6), and is not very dissimilar to what we saw in P.Carlsberg 12 *verso*, with its mix of lexicographical and grammatical/syntactical contents (indeed, its lexicographical section includes also proper nouns—specifically, a toponym, *Ḏꜥny* 'Tanis', in frag. c, col. 2, l. 12).

62 If future research will prove that these fragments belong together with those of the word-list P.Carlsberg 425 + *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 1+2a–b, then I would consider this an additional and even stronger clue pointing at this text's overall nature as a teaching manual.

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Table 2: Content and revised structure of P.Michaelidis T.S. 2c–i.

Fragment and lines:[a]	‘Letter’:	Content:
h (pl. 11b) (TM 641965) l. 1–5	Uncertain (***M***?)	Remains of five lines. The subject matter of this section is unclear, on account of the extensive damage and the loss of the beginnings of all lines. Note, however, the presence of prepositional phrases (e.g., *ỉrm=f* ‘with him’, twice, and *r-r=f* ‘against him’ in l. 2–3) and, more importantly, that of the vetitive (*m-ỉr sḏm* ‘do not hear’) in l. 5. On account of the latter, I very hesitantly suggest its positioning here, ahead of the section on the vetitive attested in the following fragments.
f (pl. 11a) (TM 641963) l. 1–5	***M***	Five instances of the vetitive (*m-ỉr sḏm*), most likely in the context of short sentences (as in the next fragment). The remainder of some lines’ ends from a previous column is insufficient to determine what this originally contained.
i (pl. 11d) (TM 641966) l. 1–3		Minimal vestiges of writing. In l. 1–2, *m-ỉr* can be read, which suggests a continuation of the previous section on the vetitive (*m-ỉr sḏm*).[b]
e (pl. 10) (TM 641962) col. 1, l. 1–12		12 short sentences, possibly all beginning with the vetitive (*m-ỉr sḏm*). Whilst *m-ỉr* survives in l. 9–12, the beginnings of l. 1–8 are missing. It seems plausible, however, that the vetitive occupied these lines too, linking them to those of the preceding fragments, within the same section devoted to this verbal form.[c]
col. 2, l. 1–3	***T***	Three short sentences possibly beginning with the verb *tỉ* ‘to give’. NB: the original editor reads instead, *dubitanter*, the aorist *ḫr(?) tỉ*.[d]
col. 2, l. 4–7		Four short sentences beginning with the particle *tws* ‘behold’.[e]
col. 2, l. 8–9		Minimal vestiges of writing over two lines, both beginning with *ỉ(w)=k* ‘you (m.s.) …’. I believe these not to be the original beginnings of sentences, but text continuing from the previous line.[f]
g (pl. 11c) (TM 641964) l. 1–4		Three short sentences (l. 2–4) beginning with the particle *tws* ‘behold’ (l. 1 must also have contained a *tws*-sentence, but its beginning is now lost). There are remainders of the end of two lines (and ink traces of a third) from a previous column.
d (pl. 9) (TM 641961) l. 1–9		Seven short sentences beginning with the particle *tws* ‘behold’.[g]

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c (pl. 8) (TM 97825) l. 1–10	***Ḫ***	Seemingly, ten prepositional phrases beginning with the preposition *ḫr* 'under'.[h)] There are remains of the beginning of a line from the next column. NB: the placing of this fragment here is offered purely *exempli gratia*: as will be discussed below, it may well have come much further ahead in the textbook, preceding frag. f and, if my positioning of it is correct, frag. h too.

Notes to Table 2:

a) Had she intended to, Bresciani could hardly have made the reference system to the Michaelidis papyri in her publication any more disorientating and convoluted. Thus, her edition contains two instances of *P.Michaelidis* 1 and 2: the first couple under the section for 'Testi letterari', the second (the one concerning us) under the section for 'Testi scolastici'. To obviate this issue, I therefore make use of the extended *siglum* '*P.Michaelidis T.[esti] S.[colastici]*'. To further assist the reader in navigating Bresciani's booklet, in this table I also give references to the plates in which the individual fragments of *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2c–i appear. In terms of line numbering, for ease of consultation I maintain the original editor's.

b) Those who will check the original plate will be at first (justly) puzzled by the proposed reading. This, however, will become acceptable following the realisation that this small fragment *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2i was published upside down in the relevant plate!

c) The proposed sequence for these three fragments (frags. f, i, and e) pertaining to the 'letter' *m* is given with the following *caveat*s. Frag. f clearly precedes frag. e, on account of the fact that frag. f still preserves its upper margin and that the top of col. 2 of frag. e, which also maintains its top margin intact, no longer includes examples of the vetitive, but of another grammatical form. On the other hand, the positioning of frag. i (which also belongs to this handbook's section about the vetitive) between frags. f and e is only hypothetical and offered *exempli gratia*, given the minimal amount of text that it preserves. It may as well have come before frag. f, or, perhaps, it may even have belonged below in col. 1 of frag. e. Hopefully, inspection of the original manuscript and its material features (which I have not yet had the opportunity to carry out) will clarify the mutual positioning of these fragments.

d) Though the published photograph appears to show dark traces before *tἰ*, I am unable to tell if these are ink or dirt. I personally fail to see in them any clear traces of a writing of the aorist's *ḫr*-particle, for which I also doubt there is enough space available at the beginning of these lines (considering where they are supposed to start, based on comparison with the following l. 4–9). If these l. 1–3 did start directly with *tἰ*, then they would fit well with the following *tws*-sentences, within a section dedicated to words beginning with the 'letter' *t*.

e) *Tws*-sentences are found here and in the following frags. g and d. In all but one case (frag. g, l. 2), *tws* is also followed by the converter *ἰw*; on this construction, see VITTMANN, Günter, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*. ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 274–279. The sequence that I here propose, in which frag. e comes first in the group of those listing *tws*-sentences, is confirmed beyond doubt by the fact that the beginning of this whole section is clearly identifiable at frag. e, col. 2/4. As for the placing of frag. d after g, rather than the other way round, my decision is based on the fact that frag. d bears only sentences with the first person singular subject (*tws ἰw=y*): now, whilst frag. e ends on sentences with the second person masculine singular subject (*ἰ(w)=k*), frag. g ends on more first person singular *tws ἰw=y* examples, which offer a direct link with those

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of frag. d. This being said, the strength of this argument is only relative, and I suppose it would not be impossible for the original order to have been instead frags. e–d–g.

f) Indeed, the *tws*-sentences of the previous two lines (col. 2, l. 6–7) both begin with *tws ỉ(w)=k*, which suggests to me that we may here easily have a continuation of these sentences with second person masculine singular subject—or perhaps, could we even suppose that the scribe here simply wrote *ỉ(w)=k*, leaving the particle *tws* implied? The latter possibility is perhaps far-fetched, yet still worth considering.
g) L. 6, which does not begin with *tws*, must contain the continuation of text from the previous line.
h) On the other hand, it may also be possible that this section contained full sentences beginning with a verb, after which followed an adverbial phrase introduced by the preposition *ẖr*. My uncertainty is due to the tear on the right of the papyrus, which runs perfectly along the right side of *ẖr*'s various occurrences, thus preventing one from knowing whether this actually was the beginning of the original lines.

The most interesting point to remark from the above table is the shift from sentences beginning with *m* to sentences beginning with *t* within frag. e. Without looking any further, this is sufficient evidence to prove that, whilst the Michaelidis textbook did cluster its examples into alphabetically coherent groups, no alphabetical ordering was applied instead at the overall level—that is, in the order according to which the different 'letter'-sections followed each other. Indeed, *m* and *t* do not follow directly one another in what we know to be the ancient Egyptian alphabetical order.[63] The overall lack of an alphabetical ordering within this textbook also entails that the original placement of the part of text preserved by frag. c within the composition has to remain uncertain. Indeed, whilst *ẖ* does come after *t* (albeit not immediately) in the Egyptian alphabetical order, in the case of our textbook we cannot tell whether, instead, it just happened to come before.[64] Thus, despite its lamentably fragmentary state, *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2c–i has turned out to offer useful comparative material for the study of *P.Schulübung*: its certain lack of an overall alphabetical order, which perhaps was observed also in P. Carlsberg 12 *verso* (though the nature of its overall ordering remains unknown, and could as well have been alphabetical), shows that school textbooks did not necessarily have to stick to a similar rigid system.

When we summarise the situation and the main features of the three teaching handbooks that I described in this paper, we see the following features:

P.Schulübung

– High number of sentences showcasing the use of a verbal form (on *recto*) and an anthology of model letters (on *verso*).
– Unlikely to have had an alphabetically-ordered structure.

63 See references above, in fn. 52. To play devil's advocate, I have wondered whether the vetitive *m-ỉr* may possibly have had a pronunciation leaning towards a /b/-like sound, since *b* directly precedes *t* in the Egyptian alphabetical order, and I have looked for evidence of this in Coptic. However, not only is this idea probably too far-fetched (and forcing views on the text, rather than letting the text speak for itself), but the available comparative material also does not endorse it (see CRUM, Walter E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, p. 178b, *s.v.* ⲙⲡⲣ-, with the closest approximation—yet far from being a proper phonetic match—being the Fayumic variants ⲡⲉⲗ- and ⲙⲃⲉⲗ-).

64 Granted that, as mentioned before (see Table 2, n. h), we are not even sure whether these sentences did begin with the 'letter' *ẖ*!

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P.Carlsberg 12 *verso*

- Hybrid of lexicographical list and grammatical exposition, covering both nouns and verbs: the latter are listed along with the full paradigm of their suffix conjugation and brief sentences elucidating their usage.
- Words and sentences are clustered together into coherent alphabetical groups, but the handbook's overall ordering (alphabetical or not) is unknown.

P.Michaelidis T.S. 2c–i

- Sentences showing the use of verbal forms (and, possibly, prepositional phrases too).
- Sentences are clustered together into coherent alphabetical groups, but these groups do not follow each other alphabetically within the textbook's overall structure.

To approach the conclusion of this paper, then, let us return to our original question—that is, what the original format of *P.Schulübung* may have been. The other two handbooks show a preference for an alphabetical format, surely in the grouping of the material within the individual chapters and, perhaps in the case of P. Carlsberg 12 *verso* only, also in the overall ordering.[65] It remains a possibility that *P.Schulübung* might have gathered its grammatical material in a way similar to what we understand certainly to have been the case for *P.Michaelidis T.S.* 2c–i, grouping it on the basis of forms beginning with the same 'letter', yet without an overall alphabetical structure covering all of the Egyptian alphabet across the handbook. Thus, before and/or after the long sequence of sentences with the optative *my sḏm=f*, we could imagine that other forms starting with *m* may have been presented, such as, for instance, the vetitive *m-ỉr sḏm*. However, as previously suggested, this seems quite unlikely an option.

I would like to contemplate another possibility, which I anticipated earlier in my paper: could *P.Schulübung* rather have had an overall, well-thought out structure, one that was based on the level of difficulty of the subject (grammatical and syntactical forms) at hand? In other words, could we think of it as a progressive teaching/learning textbook? By means of it, a reader (likely, but not exclusively, a teacher) would have had access to a large selection of material that was hierarchically ordered, from more basic instructions (such as, *exempli gratia*, the suffix conjugation or the stative—or should we be thinking of even more fundamental elements of literacy, such as individual words/infinitives?) through to forms of increasing complexity (as attested in the preserved section about the optative). Going even further than grammatical and syntactical instructions, such a progressive manual would also have included whole model texts for the purpose of training in prose composition, as the presence of the model letters on the *verso* of *P.Schulübung*, written in the same hand as the *recto*'s, suggests to me. Thus, such a teaching textbook could have covered all the main steps in the training of a scribe, from orthographical and grammatical instructions to stylistic guidance in the writing of documents.

65 Whether or not this was the norm, I cannot say at the moment—for talking about norm or standards, let alone statistics, based on such a small corpus of evidence as the manuscripts discussed in this paper would hardly be a sound way of conducting research. Further-reaching conclusions will hopefully be achieved in due course, once my entire project on school texts is sufficiently advanced.

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Now, the above idea is not based on wild speculation on my part or on anachronistic projections of modern pedagogical literature onto ancient Egyptian textual production. The existence of similar progressive manuals is in fact unambiguously attested for Graeco-Roman Egypt, albeit not in the domain of Egyptian-language schooling, but of Greek. The best-known specimen of such a handbook stems, by a curious chance, from the same geographical area and approximate time as *P.Schulübung*, that is, from the Fayum and the third century BC: it is commonly known as *P.Livre d'écolier* (= P.Cairo JdE 65445; TM 59942).[66] This is a rather lavish manuscript that covers a student's ideal *curriculum*: from the learning of letters and numbers (bearing in mind that the two are essentially one and the same in Greek!) along with other basic instructions in literacy and orthography (mostly through the use of syllabaries), moving up through thematic word-lists and then an extensive poetic anthology (including literary excerpts from Euripides' tragedies, the Odyssey, epigrams, and the New Comedy), where the pedagogic intent is still patent through the fact that the first texts of this *florilegium* are copied with syllabication. There follows, in conclusion, a section with mathematical subjects.[67] Though its editors named it *P.Livre d'écolier* on the assumption that this was a learning manual owned (yet, as they remarked, clearly not written) by a pupil, current consent is more that this should be seen as a teaching handbook belonging to an instructor.[68] Either way, what really matters is that, as in the case of the three demotic manuscripts discussed above, this is undoubtedly not the work of a student writing for exercise.

Let me be clear that, by bringing up this Greek textbook as a potential parallel to *P.Schulübung*, I am not insinuating any direct connection or influence between the Greek and the Egyptian schooling traditions. For the present, I simply intend to flag it as a useful and relevant comparative item that, rather notably, originates from a similar time and place as our demotic text.[69] Much more in-depth study of the relationship between Greek and

66 Edition in GUÉRAUD, Octave / JOUGUET, Pierre, *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C.* PSREP 2, Le Caire, 1938. The Fayumic provenance of this manuscript is only based on information given by the dealer from whom the papyrus was purchased, on behalf of the Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, in 1935 (see GUÉRAUD / JOUGUET, *Un livre d'écolier.* PSREP 2, p. xi)—not long after the Berlin (1929) and Michigan (1932) acquisitions of the two fragments of *P.Schulübung*.

67 For a detailed summary of the text's structure and contents, see GUÉRAUD / JOUGUET, *Un livre d'écolier.* PSREP 2, p. xiv–xvi. Indeed, were it not for the presence of instructions in mathematics too, the heavy stress placed by this textbook on the practice of syllabication could even have suggested that the whole manual, and not just the anthology, was otherwise meant for the training of poetry-writing.

68 See GUÉRAUD / JOUGUET, *Un livre d'écolier.* PSREP 2, p. xiv, xvii–xviii. On current scholarship concerning Greek school textbooks, including the category of *florilegia* for pedagogical purposes, see the recent studies by PORDOMINGO, Francisca, "Antologías escolares de época helenística", in L. Del Corso / O. Pecere (eds.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche: Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Cassino, 7–10 maggio 2008*. Collana Scientifica: Studi Archeologici, Letterari e Storici 26, Cassino, 2010, vol. I, p. 37–69, and DEL CORSO, Lucio, "Libri di scuola e sussidi didattici nel mondo antico", in L. Del Corso / O. Pecere (eds.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche: Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Cassino, 7–10 maggio 2008*. Collana Scientifica: Studi Archeologici, Letterari e Storici 26, Cassino, 2010, vol. I, p. 71–110 (at 86–87 specifically on *P.Livre d'écolier*).

69 As another example of the potential that a comparative approach between the Egyptian- and the Greek-

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Egyptian material will only be possible, building upon an extensive corpus of evidence, at a more advanced stage of the above-presented project on schooling in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt—after also including diachronic considerations comparing the contemporary Egyptian material with its earlier pharaonic counterparts.[70] What can probably already be said is that, both in the Egyptian and in the Greek traditions (and regardless of the identification problems discussed above in the case of the Egyptian material), school textbooks are such an uncommonly attested category that we must conclude they were probably infrequent even in antiquity. Supposedly, teachers preferably made use of *ad hoc*, more make-shift and ephemeral, material.

Conclusions

With this paper, I hope I have succeeded in showing how school texts constitute another important—albeit often neglected—type of evidence, our knowledge of which can be radically improved through that bottomless mine of information on Graeco-Roman Egypt that is the Fayum. All being well, my discussion of *P.Schulübung* and its fellow demotic school handbooks will have attracted the reader's attention to this particularly intriguing type of material. Indeed, such manuals have great significance not only on account of the information that they bring to our understanding of ancient Egyptian school practices and, thus, to both the intellectual and social history of Egypt. They also contribute to Egyptological knowledge in several other respects. For instance, through their content and structure, they are natural goldmines for lexicography as well as some of the best tools available for us to assess and appreciate ancient Egyptian linguistic categories and, overall, language awareness. The results of the announced project, with its holistic approach to this and to all other categories of school texts, will provide further and full evidence of this.

As a final note, the reader may wonder whether it should now be the case to dismiss the old traditional name of *P.Schulübung*, following my demonstration (or attempt at such) that this papyrus bears, in fact, no school exercise, and to simply indicate it with its inventory numbers. Personally, and frankly, I am more than happy for it to retain its old nickname, precisely as is still the case, in Greek papyrology, with *P.Livre d'écolier*. In the end, traditions, be they school-related or not, die hard.

language evidence from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt can have in terms of contributing to our understanding of contemporary school practices, consider for instance the demotic templates of legal documents discussed earlier in this article (see fn. 42), and compare them with the copies of contracts attested as school exercises (i.e., in pupils' copies) on Greek tablets—most recently, see the publication of the late Roman T.Mil.Vogl. 7 (TM 131567) in GALLAZZI, Claudio, "Tavoletta scolastica con testi di contratti", in A. Casanova / G. Messeri / R. Pintaudi (eds.), *E sì d'amici pieno: Omaggio di studiosi italiani a Guido Bastianini per il suo settantesimo compleanno* I, *Papirologia – Egittologia*. PapFlor 45, Firenze, 2016, p. 53–70 (no. 9), with discussion of this type of school exercises at 58–60.

70 Research questions in this respect also abound: for instance, how does the collection of letters in *P.Schulübung* compare with the similar Ramessid collections stemming from the New Kingdom school milieu?

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Fig. 1: *P.Schulübung*. P. Berlin P 13693 (right) + P. Michigan Dem. 6445a (left) *recto*: *my sḏm=f* optative sentences (1:2.5).
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Fig. 2: *P.Schulübung*. P. Berlin P 13693 (left) + P. Michigan Dem. 6445a (right) *verso*: model letters (1:2.5).
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Demotic papyri from the Franco-Italian Excavations at Tebtunis, 1988–2016

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Tebtunis is one of the best documented sites from the Greco-Roman period in Egypt. Above all, it offers the relatively rare combination of well-preserved architectural and material cultural remains and an exceptionally rich and varied corpus of contemporary texts, predominantly written in Greek and Demotic.[1] In addition to the numerous texts brought to light in the forty years preceding the Second World War, the Franco-Italian excavations directed by Prof. Claudio Gallazzi since 1988 have resulted in the discovery and documentation of several thousand new papyri and ostraca.

In 2011, I was invited by Prof. Gallazzi to survey the demotic papyri and to establish a project for their publication. Over the past six years I have spent a number of weeks at the site, working on the freshly excavated papyri, and at the Ali Radwan Storage Museum (Kom Aushim), where the material is sent at the end of the season.[2] The present paper presents some preliminary results of the survey and outlines the publication project. The project is an international collaboration between various institutions. The main participants are Gert Baetens (University of Leuven), Marie-Pierre Chaufray (University of Bordeaux), Christina Di Cerbo (Chicago House, Luxor), Cary Martin (University College London), Luigi Prada (University of Oxford), Kim Ryholt (University of Copenhagen), Katelijn Vandorpe (Leiden University), and Wolfgang Wegner (University of Würzburg).

Publication status

It might be convenient at the onset to briefly sum up the publication status of the papyri and other inscribed material in the various scripts from the Franco-Italian excavations. This list omits graffiti and epigraphic material. It is arranged by primary script.

Hieroglyphic

– Papyri: edition of 8 items by Guermeur in press[3]
– Ostraca and vessel notations: edition of 9 items by Widmer in press[4]

1 I would like to thank Cary Martin for his comments on the present paper.
2 Many of the better preserved papyri have since been collected for the Grand Egyptian Museum at Giza.
3 GUERMEUR, Ivan, “Textes hiéroglyphiques / Papyrus”, in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia*, Cairo, forthcoming, nos. 1–8.
4 WIDMER, Ghislaine, “Textes hiéroglyphiques / Ostraca et notations sur amphores”, in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia*, Cairo, forthcoming, nos. 9–17.

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Hieratic

- Papyri: preliminary reports by Guermeur in 2008 (seasons 1993–2007), 2014 (individual papyrus), and 2015 (seasons 2008–2010)[5]
- Ostraca and vessel notations: edition of 1 item by Guermuer and 4 others by Widmer in press[6]

Demotic

- Papyri: preliminary report by Di Cerbo in 2004 (seasons 1997–2000);[7] unpublished edition of 184 oracle questions by Di Cerbo (including also some from earlier excavations)
- Bones: edition of 11 items by Widmer in press[8]

Greek

- Papyri: edition of 1 item by Bastianini and Gallazzi in 1990[9] and 26 items by Quenouille in 2008 (seasons 1989–1990)[10]
- Ostraca: edition of 1 item by Bastianini and Gallazzi in 1990[11] and preliminary report by Reiter in 2005 (seasons 1997–2003)[12]
- Tablet: edition by Fournet and Gallazzi in 1996[13]

5 GUERMEUR, Ivan, “Les nouveau papyrus hiératiques exhumés sur le site de Tebtynis : un aperçu”, in S.L. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (ed.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 113–122; GUERMEUR, Ivan, “À propos d’un nouvel exemplaire du rituel journalier pour Soknebtynis (phiéra Teb SCA 2979 et autres variantes)”, in J.F. Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. ORA 6, Tübingen, 2014, p. 9–23; GUERMEUR, Ivan, “Les papyrus hiératiques de Tebtynis – Un aperçu du matériel issu des fouilles 2008–2010”, in N. Quenouille (ed.), *Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike – Kulturelle Vielfalt im Fayum*, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 17–37. The full publication of the hieratic papyri from seasons 1993–2010, *Les papyrus hiératiques de Tebtynis (fouilles 1993–2010)*, is currently in preparation by the same author.

6 GUERMEUR, Ivan, “Textes hiératiques / Ostraca et notations sur amphores”, in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia*, Cairo, forthcoming, no. 36; WIDMER, Ghislaine, “Textes hiératiques / Ostraca et notations sur amphores”, *ibid.*, nos. 37–40.

7 DI CERBO, Christina, “Neue demotische Texte aus Tebtynis: Überblick zu den demotischen Papyri der italienisch/französischen Ausgrabung in Tebtynis aus den Jahren 1997–2000”, in F. Hoffmann / H.J. Thissen (ed.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich*. StudDem 6, Leuven, 2004, p. 109–119.

8 WIDMER, Ghislaine, “Textes démotiques / Os”, in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia*, Cairo, forthcoming, nos. 43–53.

9 BASTIANINI, Guido / GALLAZZI, Claudio, “P.Tebt. NS inv. 88/3: petizione agli epistatai del 45 d.C.”, *ZPE* 81, 1990, 255–260.

10 QUENOUILLE, Nadine, *Edition und Kommentar neuer Papyri aus den französisch-italienischen Grabungen in Tebtynis (Ägypten)*, PhD thesis Universität Trier, 2008. To be published in the *Tebtynis* series as volume VIII.

11 BASTIANINI, Guido / GALLAZZI, Claudio, “Dati per un oroscopo: O.Tebt. NS inv. 89/1”, *Tyche* 5, 1990, 5–7, pl. 2.

12 REITER, Fabian, “Symposia in Tebtynis – Zu den griechischen Ostraka aus den neuen Grabungen”, in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (ed.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos – Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 131–140.

13 FOURNET, Jean-Luc / GALLAZZI, Glaudio, “Une tablette scolaire mathématique de Tebtynis”, *BIFAO* 96, 1966, p. 171–176.

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– Vessel notations: edition of 820 items by Litinas in 2008 (seasons 1997–2003)[14]

Aramaic

– A single papyrus: edition by Moriggi in press[15]

Archaeological context and date

The majority of the papyri found during the Franco-Italian excavations derive from the dump east of the temple. Most of these texts date to the second century BC. The dump seems mainly to have been used by the priestly community, as far as the papyri are concerned. Documents from the temple archives no longer required were discarded here, such as accounts and records pertaining to the temple personnel; the latter records range from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy, including bids for tender for the job as lesonis or director of the temple, documents of admission for those who came to serve as priests, and documents of self-dedications by temple slaves or serfs.

There is also a significant number of documents of a private nature, again mainly relating to the temple personnel and including actual priests as well as the guards or door-keepers (the *pastophoroi*). These documents are likely to have derived from the personal possessions of the individuals in questions, some of whom will have lived in the houses built against the inside of the enclosure wall of the temple (as shown by the later documents of Roman date excavated by Grenfell and Hunt), while others might have lived in the houses near the dump outside the temple.

A more difficult group are the numerous literary papyri (broadly defined). The texts in question would find a natural setting in the temple or priestly community, as shown by the contents of the later temple library that was found deposited inside the temple.[16] Whether they had actually belonged to the temple library before they were discarded, or whether they had been in the possession of individual priests, will hardly be possible to determine for the most part, and perhaps there is no sharp division; priests may well have had personal copies of texts copied from master copies or originals kept at the temple.[17]

More importantly, certain compositions are attested both among the material from the dump (mainly 2nd century BC) and from the temple library (mainly 2nd century AD), which provides a rare opportunity to study the transmission of specific texts over the course of about 300 years within the same community. Hieratic examples include fundamental texts

14 LITINAS, Nikos, *Tebtynis III: Vessels' Notations from Tebtynis*, Cairo, 2008.

15 MORIGGI, Marco, "Textes araméens / Papyrus", in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia*, Cairo, forthcoming, no. 54.

16 RYHOLT, Kim, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library. A Status Report", in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (ed.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos – Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 141–170; VON LIEVEN, Alexandra, "Religiöse Texte aus der Tempelbibliothek von Tebtynis – Gattungen und Funktionen", in Lippert / Schentuleit, *ibidem*, p. 57–70; QUACK, Joachim Friedrich, "Die hieratischen und hieroglyphischen Papyri aus Tebtynis – Ein Überblick", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*. The Carlsberg Papyri 7. CNIP 30, Copenhagen 2006, p. 1–7. For the archaeological context, cf. also RYHOLT, Kim, "Libraries from Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt", in K. Ryholt / G. Barjamovic (eds.), *Libraries before Alexandria*, Oxford, forthcoming.

17 Compare, for instance, the role of the small monumental library at the temple of Edfu which preserved master copies; RYHOLT, in *Libraries before Alexandria*, forthcoming.

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such as the Daily Ritual and the Opening of the Mouth Ritual,[18] and also a morning hymn to Osiris from the dump finds two exact parallels among the papyri from the temple library.[19] The demotic literary papyri from the dump have so far not provided any direct parallels with those from the temple library deposit, but this may in part be due to their fragmentary nature and the fact that much material from the library still remains to be edited. It would, for instance, be surprising if the astrological fragments mentioned below did not turn out to be earlier copies of some of the many astrological texts from the library. Moreover, several of the demotic literary texts find parallels in papyri from other sites.

Groups of related texts are sometimes found together which suggests that they were discarded at the same point in time. Examples include groups of temple accounts, oracle questions, documents of priestly admission, and documents of self-dedication. With literary texts, it can be more difficult to determine whether they really form a group or whether their presence within a given area is coincidental. In general, I would be inclined to assume the former. Thus, for instance, the locus designated B7409 (excavated 2012) included both an astronomical papyrus with observations regarding the motion of Venus (**SCA 8325+**), the collection of biographies for the purpose of astrological divination (**SCA 8480**), a mathematical handbook (**SCA 8449**), magic against scorpions (**SCA 8661**), and some smaller fragments of narrative texts, while locus A7409 (excavated 2002) included an alphabetic book of names (**SCA 6918.2**), a lexical list (**SCA 6915.2**), a collection of model letters (**SCA 6856**), and a scribal exercise of grammatical nature (**SCA 6851**). In both case, there is an evidently shared thematic component which suggests that the papyri might have been kept together before they were discarded.

The dump has been subject to systematic excavation for about twenty years. Owing to its enormous size and the need to excavate it section by section and layer by layer, and the fact that discarded papyri sometimes broke (or were torn) into pieces that scattered over an area, fragments of a single papyrus or groups of related papyri sometimes turn up during different seasons, even years apart. Examples mentioned below include the manual on sand divination, where two fragments were found in 2001 and 2010, and the Venus text, where groups of fragments were found in 2008 and again in 2010.

Another circumstance worth mentioning is the fact that the area of the dump is pockmarked by modern pits sunk a couple of meters into the ground, evidently in search for antiquities. Some of these pits, which have filled with sand over time, must have been the source of some of the papyri that ended up on the antiquities market in the 1920s and -30s. This explains the presence of documents in various collections, acquired through the market, that are clearly related to material found during the Franco-Italian excavations, such as temple accounts, oracle questions, documents of self-dedication and priestly admission, as well as private legal documents.[20]

18 GUERMEUR, in Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 9–23; GUERMEUR, in Quenouille (ed.), *Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike*, p. 118.

19 P.Carlsberg 767 (personal observation) and PSI inv. I 127 (kindly brought to my attention by Andrea Kucharek); both unpublished. The text from the dump (**SCA 8176**) is described by GUERMEUR, in Quenouille (ed.), *Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike*, p. 29–30.

20 Most of the documentary texts in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection that are currently being prepared for publication by Cary Martin and myself are likely to have derived from these pits.

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A limited number of demotic papyri have been found elsewhere on the site. To give a few examples relevant in relation to papyri cited in the present paper, the wisdom instruction **SCA 488A** was found with a few other literary fragments in Building 2100, and the self-dedication addressed to Tesenouphis, **SCA 1206**, was found with a few other documentary fragments in Building 2400. In both cases, the archaeological context seems to be secondary.[21]

Main categories of texts

Some 650 demotic papyri have been selected for publication. This group does not represent the total of publishable material, but will provide a solid reference in term of contents, structure, palaeography, and general context, that will allow for the eventual publication of less well preserved and more difficult material. The papyri have been grouped as follows:

- Legal documents: c. 70 papyri
  main contributors: Martin, Vandorpe, Wegner
- Letters, petitions and reports: c. 60 papyri
  main contributors: Baetens, Chaufray, Martin, Ryholt
- Temple accounts: c. 50 papyri
  main contributors: Chaufray, Martin, Ryholt
- Other documents relating to temple personnel: c. 50 papyri
  main contributors: Chaufray, Di Cerbo, Martin, Ryholt
- Oracle questions: c. 350 papyri[22]
  main contributors: Di Cerbo, Prada
- Literary texts: c. 70 papyri
  main contributors: Prada, Ryholt

Legal documents

The legal documents mainly belong to the usual categories, such as documents of sale, documents of no-rights ('cessions'), leases, loans, and other forms of contracts.[23] Some of them are well-preserved, but inevitably most are incomplete or mere fragments. A number were drawn up by well-known authorised scribes, whose signatures are either preserved or their hands are paleographically recognisable. Several of the contracting parties are similarly known from other documents, as might be expected within a relatively small priestly community.

Among the more noteworthy texts is a well-preserved dowry document with a Greek subscription from 134 BC, **SCA 6862**. There are two further but fragmentary examples of this rare type of text in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection that presumably also derive from the dump.[24] Another notable text, **SCA 6863**, is a contract by Sokonôpis son of Teses, dated

21 Cf. GALLAZZI, Claudio / HADJI-MINAGLOU, Gisèle, *Tebtynis I: La reprise des fouilles et la quartier de la chapelle d'Isis-Thermouthis*, Cairo, 2000, p. 112, 161.

22 The above-mentioned edition of about half of these texts by DI CERBO was completed already prior to the establishment of the current project.

23 DI CERBO, in Hoffmann / Thissen (ed.), *Fs. Zauzich*, p. 116–117, briefly discusses some of the leases.

24 Publication in preparation by Cary Martin and myself; cf. MARTIN, Cary J., "Legal and Administrative

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136 BC, concerning the mummification of his deceased wife. It is presumably the same Sokonôpis who is recorded as a councillor priest in several documents of priestly admission and who is also listed in a number of accounts. These latter documents date between 174 and 134 BC, and Sokonôpis would thus seem to have been an older man when his wife passed away. As an aside, it may be noted that four of the eight men who witnessed this document also appear as witnesses to a lease of land written four years earlier, **SCA 7576**.[25] Both the document of dowry and the contract concerning mummification were drawn up by Haryôthês son of Harmiysis, and they expand his career, which was earlier known to span 128–105 BC, by several years.[26]

The document **SCA 5158**, datable to 148/147 BC on the basis of the eponymous priests, is remarkable in having the witness list inscribed *transversa carta* on the verso.

Letters, petitions, and reports

Among the letters, memoranda and petitions, the largest group concern a succession of lesonis or directors of the temple. There are also three letters to generals (*mr-mšꜥ*). In the present context, this title is perhaps used as the well-attested designation of the heads of cult associations, but this remains to be resolved.

One of the more interesting documents is **SCA 8448** which contains a petition (*mqmq*) written in 148 BC and addressed to 'Marrês son of Marrês, the Prophet of Bastet, the agent of the pharaohs who inspects the temples' at Crocodilopolis.[27] Another petition addressed to the same official some eight years earlier is preserved in *P.Oxf.Griffith* 39 from Soknopaiou Nesos.[28] The Tebtunis petition was written on behalf of a man named Alexandros son of Eirenaios from Kerkesuchos who was attacked one evening by a pastophoros of Soknebtunis named Thothertaios. The latter assaulted him verbally, then hit him, and finally took the man's staff and struck him with it. According to the petitioner, he would have been killed if the *ephodos* of the city had not come to his rescue, and he now asks for the man to be apprehended and, undoubtedly, to be brought to justice; at this point the petition breaks off. Assuming the original petition was sent to Crocodilopolis, the present document may have been a copy for the temple, which would make sense since it involved one of its employees.

A number of petitions are addressed to the lesonis of the temple of Soknebtunis. **SCA 5169.4**, submitted by a certain Marrês son of Sokonôpis to the lesonis Marrês, concerns an event in regnal-year 28 of Ptolemy VI or VIII where he sent his child to the temple. The latter information suggests the petitioner may be identical to the like-named councillor priest attested in several documents of priestly admission as a member of the second phyle

Texts from Tebtunis in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection", present volume, p. 79–82.

25 Similarly, three of four witnesses on **SCA 8405.2** are also recorded among the eight witnesses to the land lease, **SCA 5944**, and there are other examples of recurring witnesses.

26 MARTIN, Cary J., "A Family of Scribes in Ptolemaic Tebtynis", in Z.A. Hawass / K.A. Daoud / S. Abd El-Fattah (ed.), *The Realm of the Pharaohs: Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa*. CASAE 37, Cairo, 2009, p. 323–332.

27 The description of this text is based on a collaboration with Gert Baetens, Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Willy Clarysse, and Wolfgang Wegner.

28 BRESCIANI, Edda, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos*, Milano, 1975, p. 46–49.

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in regnal-years 24 and 29. A few other petitions are addressed to the agent of the epistates (*pꜣ rd (n) pꜣ rmt-šn*) or groups of priests.

Among the letters, **SCA 8417** is worth citing for its phraseology. It is addressed to a general and concerns Diodorus, the epistates of neighbouring Kerkesuchos, who is described as 'a man of ours' and 'a man who can serve the general'.[29] The letter concludes with the words: "At the conclusion of everything, write to us (about) your health and what one will desire here" (*tꜣ ẖꜣʿ.t (n) md.t nb.t hb n=n pꜣy=k wḏꜣ ỉrm tꜣ nty ỉw=w (r) wẖꜣ-s dy*), i.e. a request both for news about the recipient's health and orders.[30] This greeting is possibly a *pendant* to the courtesy, "At the beginning of everything, your health ..." (*tꜣ ḥꜣṱ.t n md.t nb.t pꜣy=k wḏꜣ*), which is found at the beginning of two demotic letters of early third century date. The latter has been interpreted as an Egyptian rendering of the Greek epistolary formula, "Before everything I pray that you are healthy", and since the latter is attested already in the early second century AD, the Egyptian examples have been described as "a clear example of Greek influence on late Demotic epistolography".[31] The letter here cited is dated to 121 BC, and so if the *tꜣ ḥꜣṱ.t n md.t nb.t* and the *tꜣ ẖꜣʿ.t n md.t nb.t* formulae concerning the recipient's health are related, it would seem that the former is independent of the Greek greeting. The rarity of the demotic greeting may be due to local preferences; the three attestations here cited are all from Tebtunis and relatively few demotic letters from this part of Egypt have yet been edited.

Temple accounts

An interesting series of temple accounts, with the same general format and all concerning wheat, date to regnal-years 31 through 37 of Ptolemy VIII, 140–134 BC.[32] They are divided into sections. The first is usually dated and provided with the heading "what remains before Soknebtunis" (*pꜣ nty mn m-bꜣḥ Sbk-nb-tny*), sometimes abbreviated as simply "what remains" (*pꜣ nty mn*). They cover unequal periods of time and since they also include a group of men designated "the priests of the procession" (*nꜣ wʿb.w n pꜣ ẖʿ*), they might relate to specific festivals. Examples include periods of 3 days (II Shemu 18–20), 6 days (III Peret 30 – IV Peret 5), 17 days (IV Peret 4–20), 19 days (III Peret 15 – IV Peret 4), and 20 days (III Akhet 1–20).[33]

The first section of the accounts initially lists the kitchen facilities (*pr-šnʿ*, var. *pꜣ šnʿ*).[34] The latter term designates an area where food was prepared and where grain and animals might be kept, and in all the lists the largest amount of wheat is recorded in relation to this

29 It is possibly the same epistates who is referred to as 'Diodorus, the man from Kerkesouchis' in P.Carlsberg 721, which is being prepared for publication by Cary Martin and myself.

30 A close parallel is attested in P. Köln. ägypt. 1 (138/137 BC), "The main thing is, write to me (about) your health and what one will desire here" (*tꜣ md.t ʿꜣ.t hb n=y pꜣy=k wḏꜣ irm tꜣ nty iw=w (r) wẖꜣ-s dy*). I am grateful to Sandra Lippert for this reference and for discussing the formula with me.

31 DEPAUW, Mark, *The Demotic Letter*. DemStud 12, Sommerhausen, 2006, p. 202.

32 Fragments of other documents of this type from the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection are being prepared for publication by Cary Martin and myself.

33 **SCA 7169**, **7161**, **8461**, **8478**, and **7188.1**.

34 A nearly 2000-year earlier account of a kitchen facility (*šnʿ*) from Lahun, perhaps pertaining to the local temple, is published by GRIFFITH, F. Ll. *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1897, 64–65, pl. XXVIa.

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facility. Next follows “the pastophoroi”, “the astrologer”, “the tomb of the crocodile”, “the princes of the city” (*nꜣ rpy.w n pꜣ tmy*), as well as “the singer”, “the herdsman”, and “prince Neferhotep” (*pꜣ rpy Nfr-ḥtp*). The latter three are not always present, and the order shows some slight variations. One account adds “Marrês son of Pasôs, the village scribe”.

A separate section has the heading “the priests of the procession” and lists the priests in question and their rations in quantities of wheat. The majority of them are identified by name, but there are a few exceptions. Thus, for instances, one list includes “the priests of Suchos, two rations”; other documents also distinguish between Soknebtunis and Suchos, and perhaps these were visiting priests from Crocodilopolis. At least in some of the accounts, the participants seem to be listed according to status, with the lesonis mentioned first. However, there is no consistent order and it is not stated to which phyle any of them belonged.

Another section has the day-book format and records amounts of wheat, sometimes with several entries on a single day and sometimes skipping a day. The entries do not concern the priesthood itself and it is unclear whether they are expenses or quantities of wheat going in. Some of the individuals concerned are from other towns and there are also, for instance, shepherds. One account records in a single entry “the epistates” in the plural, and a man listed simply as Diodôros in another account is perhaps the epistates from neighbouring Kerkesuchos. The accounts also include a number of women who are not identified by name, but as the wives of so-and-so, which might indicate that they are acting on behalf of their husbands rather than in their own right.

The above-mentioned kitchen facilities must relate to the temple, but there were evidently more than one of these, since we find also an account of “the kitchens” in the plural (*pꜣ ỉp (n) nꜣ šnʿ.w*, **SCA 8081**). It takes the day-book format and repeatedly mentions “the storage” (*pꜣ wḏꜣ*). Other accounts in the day-book format concern “wheat given to the kitchen” (*pꜣ ỉp (n) nꜣ sw (r.)tw=w (r) pr-šnʿ*, **SCA 8025**) or “money given to the priests” *(pꜣ ỉp (n) nꜣ ḥḏ.w (r.)tw=w (r) nꜣ wʿb.w*, **SCA 8080**). These accounts mostly record individuals by name, but we also find “the lesonis”, “the house of the lesonis”, or “the house of Marrês son of Paôpis”.

A different type of account concerns crowns (*qlm*). **SCA 6915.1** preserves two intact examples, relating to consecutive days (III Akhet 11–12), one on either side of the papyrus. In both of them, the crown of Soknebtunis is listed first, while other crowns include those of “the gods of Suchos” (i.e. the sacred crocodiles), of Harmiysis, of Harpsenêsis, and of *Pa-ʿw*. Each entry is followed by a personal name, sometimes preceded by the preposition “by” (*n-dr.t*), and a figure. Another document of this type is **SCA 6496.3**.

Further documents that will likely be edited together with the temple accounts include a phyle roster, **SCA 6496.1**,[35] an inventory of temple equipment, **SCA 7573**,[36] as well as a couple of house-by-house census records. **SCA 3480.1** is a fragment using the format “The

35 For another such phyle roster from Tebtunis, now in Oxford and apparently excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in 1899/1900, see RYHOLT, Kim, “A Phyle Roster from Tebtunis with a note on offset cutting, traces, and loss”, *Enchoria* 36, in press.

36 For examples of other such texts post-dating the New Kingdom, see the references provided by DEPAUW, Mark, “Late Period Inventories in Egyptian Scripts”, in K. Vandorpe / W. Clarysse (eds.), *Archives and Inventories in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Brussels, 2007, p. 66–67.

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house of ...” (*pꜣ ꜥwy*), followed by the identities of the inhabitants, and then a total, such as “making 3 (individuals), 1 (of whom is) male”.[37] Another fragment, **SCA 6469.4**, preserves a list of seven houses and their owners. Because of the way the fragment is broken, it is not possible to see if the occupants of the houses were also listed, but it seems doubtful that there would be sufficient room since every line lists a new house. A check-mark is added next to one of them.

Documents relating to the employment of temple personnel

An additional volume will include other documents relating to the employment of temple personnel, mainly bids for tender, [38] documents of priestly admission,[39] and documents of self-dedication.[40] These types of documents have been described elsewhere and little further comment is necessary here. With one exception, the documents derive from the rubbish heap next to the temple of Soknebtunis and concern individuals in the service of this deity. The exception is a single self-dedication addressed to Tesenouphis which, significantly, was found some distance away (cf. below). The records in question all appear to have been kept as documentation by the administration rather than the individuals they concern. Most of the priestly admission documents were found as a group, thus apparently having been kept together and discarded at the same point in time, and there is strong reason to believe that the self-dedications are archival copies as well. This might also help explain why many of the latter are so poorly written. Yet sometimes the errors indicate a lack of skill rather than mere haste or indifference. Thus, for instance, the scribe of **SCA 8332** uses bizarre unetymological writings and even manages to produce a reverse writing of “the great god” as *ꜥꜣ ntr pꜣ*.

37 Compare *P.Count* 4 and 9 for the structure “The house of …” and *P.Count* 2 for the totals; CLARYSSE, Willy / THOMPSON, Dorothy J., *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, I, Cambridge, 2006.

38 Another bid for tender as lesonis from Tebtunis and some related documents are being prepared for publication by Cary Martin and myself; cf. MARTIN, Cary J., “Legal and Administrative Texts from Tebtunis in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection”, present volume, with references to other such documents.

39 The main group of these documents, discovered in 1999, is described by DI CERBO, in Hoffmann / Thissen (eds.), *Fs. Zauzich*, p. 114–116.

40 Sixteen papyri inscribed with documents of self-dedication have been identified. To these can be added more than a hundred other papyri and fragments in the British Museum and the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, and a few other collections, most of which seem to derive from a single discovery in 1930. They are currently being prepared for publication. For self-dedications in general, and some remarks on those from Tebtunis, see RYHOLT, Kim, “A Self-Dedication addressed to Anubis. Divine Protection against Malevolent Forces or Forced Labor?”, in R. Nyord / K. Ryholt (eds.), *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen*. CNIP 39, Copenhagen, 2015, p. 329–350; RYHOLT, Kim, “Two Self-Dedications addressed to Isis-Nephersais of Euhemeria”, in K. Donker van Heel / F.A.J. Hoogendijk / C.J. Martin (eds.), *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions. Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*. P.L.Bat. 34, Leiden / New-York / Köln 2018, p. 205–218.

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Oracle questions

In 2000 Zauzich drew up a list of all published demotic oracle questions, 49 examples in all, more than half of which derived from Tebtunis.[41] Thanks to the Franco-Italian excavations at the site, this number has grown immensely and the total number of demotic oracle questions from the site is now around 350 – many more than have been found in the entire rest of Egypt. To this may be added others written in Greek. A preliminary report on the demotic ones found during the seasons 1997–2000 was published by Di Cerbo,[42] who has since completed the edition of 184 (including some from earlier excavations).

In three cases, the questions are not addressed to the main deity Soknebtunis, but instead to Sokonôpis, Stotoêtis, and Tefresudja respectively. The two first-mentioned might have had chapels near that of Soknebtunis (cf. below). Tefresudja means 'His awakening is sound' and it seems obvious to connect this name with the epithet "the one awakening in sound condition" (*rs-wḏꜣ*). Although occasionally used for other deities, the epithet is particularly well-attested in relation to Osiris and presumably refers to his successful resurrection.[43] Several papyri from the temple library concern the cult of Osiris, and different prophets of his are mentioned in the documentary texts from the dump. The oracle question addressed to Tefresudja, **SCA 7335.1**, reads, *ẖrw-bꜣk m-bꜣḥ ‹pꜣ›y=f ḥry Tꜣy=f-rs-wḏꜣ pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ `nꜣ ntr.w ‹nty› ḥtp ‹ỉrm›=f´ ỉw=f ẖpr nꜣ-nẖṯ Wrš?-nfr ‹my› ỉn=w n=y ‹pꜣy› bꜣk r-bnr*, "Voice of the servant before ‹hi›s lord, Tefresudja, the great god, and the gods ‹who› rest ‹with› him. If it happens that Ouersenouphis is strong, ‹may› ‹this› letter be brought out to me". The text is poorly written and it is noteworthy that the scribe considered the mention of the associated gods sufficiently important to add it secondarily, above the line, perhaps at the request of the petitioner. This addition is significant since it shows, as might be expected, that Tefresudja was the head of a cycle of gods, presumably a local version of the usual trial of Osiris, Isis, and Horus.

Literary texts

The literary texts, broadly defined, are relatively numerous. There are a number of larger pieces, but the majority survive only in smaller fragments. Yet as long as their nature can be identified, even the smallest fragments are significant, since they help establish an overview of what types of literature were available at the site and, in particular, within the priestly community, most of the fragments having been found in the dump next to the temple. The texts, which mainly date to the second and first centuries BC, also allow for an interesting comparison with the c. 400 literary texts from the temple library that were found a very short distance away and mainly date to the first and second centuries AD.

41 ZAUZICH, Karl-Theodor, "Die demotischen Orakelfragen – eine Zwischenbilanz", in P. J. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000, p. 1–25, pl. 1–3.

42 DI CERBO, in Hoffmann / Thissen (eds.), *Fs. Zauzich*, p. 110–114.

43 Cf. references provided in LEITZ, Christian (dir.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (*LGG*) IV. OLA 113, Leuven, 2002, p. 713–715.

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Narrative literature

The largest literary fragment (**SCA 8341**), measuring 28 x 52 cm, preserves the beginning of a narrative. The presence of a protective sheet suggests that this was once a longer roll. Most of the first column and some of the second survives, but regretfully the text is faint and smeared in places. The story seems to be set in a priestly community, like some of the stories of the Heliopolitan priesthood. A few lines read "... while I was in the dromos. Your writings from your temple offices are before ...", "... and I will let them all be killed, every single one, or I will let your temple offices be brought ...", "... before me, and I will let them all be killed, every single one ...". A few lines later, "the scribe of the god's book went to call to him in the dromos ...". Some words are marked for correction by a circle, and the corrections are written in the margin. On the otherwise blank verso, a short text records the borders of some property and a date, but unfortunately the year is not specified.

Another narrative was inscribed on a papyrus (**SCA 2278**) of an unusually short format (13.5 cm.) with just eight lines of writing in the one preserved column. An intercolumn is marked by a pair of vertical lines. Someone comes to "an evil district" (*tš bn*) and the narration then continues in the first person. "[...] I participated in a celebration ... [...] my mind is determined to let the scribe bring the shrine (?) [...] and I will let the scribe bring gold which is plentiful and pure [...] ... and I will let a statue (*twt-ntr*) be fashioned ...". After a short lacuna, the king is addressed, perhaps in answer to a question, and a fragmentary description of the statue follows, 'Pharaoh, my lord! Its divine limbs (?) are round (or coloured?), [...], its eyebrows are costly lapis lazuli, its nose [...]" (*pr-ʿꜣ pꜣy=y nb nꜣ-šl nꜣy=f ..y-ntr [... nꜣy=f] ⸢ỉnʿḥ.w ḫstb ḏf šy.ṯ=f [...]*).[44] The mention of the nose would be surprising if it had a human form.

The beginning of a further narrative is inscribed on a small threadbare fragment (**SCA 8324.4**) which has writing on both sides. Two vertical lines mark the first column and the beginning of the text which reads, "After these (events), it happened one day ..." (*m-sꜣ nꜣy ḫpr wʿ hrw*).[45] The second line should perhaps be restored, "[the manner] of making strife which they did" (*[pꜣ gy] n ỉr mlḫ ỉ.ỉr=w*), i.e. "how they made strife". This may well outline or refer to the contents of the narrative; a similar introduction to the contents or episodes is found in the story of *Petechons and Sarpot* (aka *Egyptians and Amazons*).[46] If, then, the story concerned unrest in Egypt by a group of characters, it might have been a tale such as the Inaros stories known as *The Contest for the Benefice of Amun* (where a

44 I understand *ḏf*, which seems to be a hapax in demotic, as Coptic ϫⲟⲩϥ (CD 796a). Accordingly, *ḫstb ḏf*, "costly lapis lazuli", would appear to be synonymous with the more common *ḫstb n mꜣʿ.t*, "true lapis lazuli". Sandra Lippert kindly points out that *ḏf* in the same sense 'costly, special' might also be implied in a word play of the type *lucus a non lucendo* between *ḏwf* 'papyrus' and *sše* 'ordinary, contemptible' in the Myth of the Sun's Eye (P.Mythus Leiden 6.18).

45 For the use of *m-sꜣ nꜣy* before *ḫpr wʿ hrw* or *ḫpr wʿ sw*, see RYHOLT, Kim, "A Sesostris Story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic Literary Exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217)", in H. Knuf / C. Leitz / D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. OLA 194, Leuven, 2010, p. 430, 433.

46 Cf. RYHOLT, Kim, "*Imitatio alexandri* in Egyptian Literary Tradition", in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Romance between Greece and the East*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 76–77.

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rebellious young priest and his band of warriors cause unrest) or *The Contest for Inaros' Armour* (where the two leading clans in Egypt fight each other). The noun *mlḫ* is repeatedly used to describe the situation in both stories.

Among other minor fragments, one, found in 2016 (locus B2802), might be related to *Khamwase and Siosiris*.[47] Two consecutive lines preserve the words, *[...] pr-ʿꜣ r-ḥry (r) pꜣ [...]*, "... pharaoh up to the ...", and *[...] Kmy (n) pꜣ grḥ [...]*, "... Egypt in the night ...". Compare how "pharaoh of Egypt was brought up to the place in which the *kore* was", where he was beaten, and then returned to Egypt, during the night, in the story of *Khamwase and Siosiris*. Another fragment, **SCA 7571.2**, contains a conversation with or before pharaoh and includes a character named *Ḥr-pꜣ-ỉkš*, Harpekysis or "Horus-the-Kushite". A further fragment, **SCA 8453**, which mentions an overseer of writings (*mr-sḫ*), uses the archaic preposition *ḥnʿ* "with" written in hieratic and at one point some text is deleted by drawing a circle around it.

There are also smaller fragments of a few mythological narratives. One consists of several fragments (**SCA 6442.1+7163.1+7346**) and concerns Osiris and Mendes. The main fragment preserves passages such as "It happened one day that Osiris said to Mendes", "They did what he said immediately", "He fell asleep accordingly immediately", "Thoth came immediately", and "They brought their *krkr*". The latter word is written with the wood determinative and is perhaps to be identified with a similarly written word which was hitherto attested only in an 18th Dynasty text[48] or, as suggested to me by Sandra Lippert, with *grgr*, "(water) wheel".[49]

Teachings

No part of the Great Demotic Wisdom Instruction (P.Insinger) has been identified among the literary fragments. This is surprising insofar as it is the best attested wisdom instruction in the temple library.[50] By contrast, several fragments are inscribed with the Teaching of Chasheshonqy, whereas only the narrative introduction, apparently reworked as a story in its own right, seems to have been included in the temple library deposit.[51] Two of the fragments have already been described by Di Cerbo, **SCA 4677.2** and **SCA 5143.4**, the latter of which is further inscribed with an unidentified literary text on the verso.[52] A new fragment is **SCA 7573.2**, which includes the following lines:

47 The fragment had not yet been assigned an inventory number when I studied it at the site.

48 *Wb* V, p. 136.6.

49 JÖRDENS, Andrea, *P. Louvre I. Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiou Nesos*, Bonn 1998, p. 80; ZAUZICH, Karl-Th., "Schmähworte gegen eine Frau", *Enchoria* 18 (1991) p. 141-142.

50 VOLTEN, Aksel, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch (Pap. Carlsberg II, III Verso, IV Verso und V)*. AnAeg 1, Copenhagen, 1940; QUACK, Joachim Fr., "Neue Fragmente des grossen demotischen Weisheitsbuches mit einer Kollation der bereits publizierten Fragmente", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming.

51 RYHOLT, Kim, "A new Version of the Introduction to the Teachings of ʿOnch-Sheshonqy", in P.J. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000, p. 113–140, pl. 16–23; RYHOLT, Kim, "New Fragments of the Story of Chasheshonqy", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming.

52 DI CERBO, in Hoffmann / Thissen, *Fs. Zauzich*, p. 118.

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9. “[When Re is angry with] a land, he makes its washerman [become vizier]”
10. “[When Re is angry with] a land, he gives the staff (*šbt*) in the hand of [...]”
11. “[When Re is angry with] a land, he lets the fool become master of [instruction]”
12. “[When Re is angry with] a land, he causes strife and unrest (*ꜣḥ mlẖ*) [...]”
13. “[When Re is angry with] a land, he gives the bread (*ʿq*) to the one who [...]”
14. “[When Re is angry with] a land, he gives the throne (*htm*) [...]”

Two of these lines find a direct parallel in the Chasheshonqy papyrus in the British Museum, col. V, which provides the basis of the restorations.[53] The arrangement is different, with line 9 corresponding to V.13 and line 11 to V.10, and none of the other lines is present, but some lines are entirely lost at the top of the column in the BM papyrus. The text preceding line 9 is not parallel to the BM papyrus, but the mention of “my brother of eating” (*pꜣy=y sn (n) wnm*) might refer to the intimate friendship between Chasheshonqy and the chief physician Harsiese, and I am inclined to regard this fragment as another version of the introduction. In this context, it is relevant to point out that the version of the Story of Chasheshonqy from the temple library also displays considerable differences to the BM papyrus.[54] The same is true for the Chasheshonqy maxims attested in various other papyri, both those from Tebtunis and those from Deir el-Medina,[55] Gebelein,[56] and Magdola.[57] Given their poor state of preservation, it seems impossible to determine if these fragments represent the same tradition, one at variance with the BM papyrus, whether there were several other versions of the text, or whether we are dealing with general maxims that were not restricted to Chasheshonqy.

Further fragments from wisdom instructions remain more problematic to identify. **SCA 488A**, found in Building 2100, is inscribed on both sides. It includes a section with at least six lines beginning *m-ỉr ḏwy* ..., “Do not steal ...”.[58] **SCA 3470.2**, found in Building 2700, is similarly inscribed on both sides and includes a series of vetitives, but the verbs are lost. Another very minor fragment, **SCA 4271.2**, preserves just three vetitives, including *m-ỉr dỉ.t gm [...]*, “Do not let [...] discover [...]”,[59] and *m-ỉr sš [...]*, “Do not scorn [...]”.[60] Too little is preserved of the two latter texts to see if there are any direct parallels among the vetitives of Chasheshonqy or those of O. dém. DelM 1–2[61] and O. Cairo JE 50444.[62]

53 GLANVILLE, Stephen R. K., *The Instructions of ʿOnch-Sheshonqy*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 2, London, 1955, p. 15–17, pl. 5.

54 RYHOLT, in Frandsen / Ryholt (eds.), The Carlsberg Papyri 3, p. 113–140; RYHOLT, in Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11, forthcoming.

55 DEVAUCHELLE, Didier / WIDMER, Ghislaine, “Un peu de sagesse ... Sentences sur ostraca démotiques”, in H. Knuf / C. Leitz / D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zur pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. OLA 194, Leuven, 2010, p. 168–170.

56 SMITH, H. S., “A Cairo Text of Part of the Instructions of ‘Onchsheshonqy’ ”, *JEA* 44, 1958, p. 121–122.

57 PEZIN, Michel, “Fragment de sagesse démotique”, *Enchoria* 11, 1982, p. 59–61, pl. 7–8.

58 Compare Chasheshonqy XV.14 and XXI.17.

59 Compare O. dém. DelM 1–2, 1.

60 Compare Chasheshonqy IX.5–8 and XVII.17.

61 DEVAUCHELLE / WIDMER, in Knuf / Leitz / von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Fs. Thissen*, p. 170–172.

62 Unpublished; cf. RYHOLT, in Knuf / Leitz / von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Fs. Thissen*, p. 435.

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Lexical lists or onomastica

Lexical lists represent perhaps the oldest category of what might be termed literary texts in Egypt and the ancient Near East, and Tebtunis too has yielded a fair share of them. In addition to the Great Tebtunis Onomasticon, written in hieratic and estimated to have been more than 10 meters long, there are fragments of at least 14 demotic lexical lists among the material from the dump and from the temple library deposit.[63] The latter include personal names, occupations, toponyms, animals, plants, garments, and metal tools. Among those that derive from the Franco-Italian excavations, lists of personal names are the most prominent. The largest fragment, **SCA 5710**, with four columns preserving 56 names beginning with *t* (mostly feminine names with *Tꜣ-*) followed by 19 names beginning with *Pa-*, has already been described by Di Cerbo, along with a minor fragment, **SCA 5161.2**, preserving six feminine names beginning with *Ta-*.[64] While the names are arranged according to the initial letter, the better preserved list is evidently not alphabetical. The other is too short to determine its structure.

Another nice fragment, **SCA 8024**, preserves the lower part of the first three columns (numbered *pꜣ mḥ-1* through *pꜣ mḥ-3*) of an alphabetically arranged book of names. Columns I and II preserve nine and ten names beginning with *h*, while column III preserves nine names beginning with *r*. More specifically, all the latter are theophoric names with the initial element Re, and it seems likely that the sun-god headed the *r* section for honorific reasons. The names include *Rꜥ-ỉ.ỉr-sꜥnḫ* and *Rꜥ-ỉ.ỉr-ḏrꜣ*, both of which are based on patterns (DN-*ỉ.ỉr-sꜥnḫ* and DN-*ỉ.ỉr-ḏrꜣ*) that are unknown to Ranke, *Personnennamen*, and *Demot. Nb.* Accordingly, such names cannot have been common and they may represent mechanical projections of rare name patterns. The list is not parallel to the better-preserved book of names P.Carlsberg 425 + BM 10852+10856 edited by Zauzich.[65]

The smaller fragment **SCA 6918.2** similarly contains an alphabetically arranged book of names. Column I preserves the end of four theophoric names (based on the name of a goddess, but only the determinative is preserved) ending with *-ỉr-rḫ-s*, *-ỉr-dỉ.t-s*, and *-m-ḥꜣt*. This is sufficient to show that it was arranged in a similar manner to the book of names edited by Zauzich, where the patterns DN-*ỉw* (var. DN-*ỉy.ṯ*), DN-*ỉ.ỉr-dỉ.t-s*, DN-*ỉ.ỉr-rḫ-s*, DN-*m-ḥꜣ.t* recur, although they were evidently not repeated in a mechanical fashion. The same pattern is also attested, with the addition of DN-*tꜣy=f-nḫṱ*, in the alphabetic book of names *P.Cair.* II 31169 from Saqqara.[66] Column II preserves eight feminine names beginning with the element *Tꜣy-*, which indicates that the fragment belongs towards the end of the list.

63 Cf. RYHOLT, Kim, "Four Demotic Onomastica: Occupations and Plants", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming.

64 DI CERBO, in Hoffmann / Thissen (eds.), *Fs. Zauzich*, p. 117.

65 ZAUZICH, Karl-Theodor, "Ein antikes demotisches Namenbuch", in P.J. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. CNIP 22, Copenhagen, 2000, p. 27–52, pl. 4–9.

66 SPIEGELBERG, Wilhelm, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* II*: Die demotischen Papyrus*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1906–1908, p. 270–280, pl. 109–111. Cf. vo. I.8–11, I.12–14, II.3–5, II.12–15.

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The verso of **SCA 6915.2** preserves a list of animals, including the sequence: ram (*b-ꜥꜣ-p.t*), sheep (*slꜣ*), goat (*ꜥnḫ*), *ql*-monkey, baboon (*ꜥꜥn*), *gwf*-monkey, female *gwf*-monkey (*gwf.t*), lion (*mꜣy*), and lioness (*mꜣy.t*). The recto seems to be inscribed with a school exercise.

Scientific texts

The scientific texts mainly relate to divination and, in particular, to astrology. This corresponds to the situation in the later temple library deposit, which included about sixty manuals on various forms of divination, the majority of them similarly astrological.[67] More surprisingly, no demotic medical texts have yet been identified.[68] The discovery of a fragment from a hieratic medical papyrus of Ptolemaic date (**SCA 7333.7**) might indicate that the demotic script was not yet used for such literature at Tebtunis at the time it was written, but it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions with so limited evidence available from anywhere in Egypt.[69]

One of the most exciting discoveries is **SCA 8480**, a large papyrus (30.2 x 34.5 cm) pieced together from several fragments, which is inscribed with a collection of biographies.[70] These were, in my understanding, collected as empirical data for the purposes of astrological divination. Substantial sections of two biographies are preserved. The second man is recorded by his zodiacal sign rather than his personal name, and the same was presumably the case with the first, since the subject is not these people as individuals, but how the life of someone borne under a specific sign might unfold.

The first man died at the age of "77 years, 10 months, and 16 days". He was the eldest son of his father and became very wealthy in his life. He was married four times; his first wife died or they got divorced,[71] his second wife died in child labour, and he divorced the third wife, apparently because they were unable to have children. He later remarried the

67 Cf. QUACK, Joachim Friedrich / RYHOLT, Kim, 'Petese Interpreting Astrology by Imhotep for King Nechepsos', in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming, with literature cited there. Very few of the astrological papyri have yet been published, but a volume to appear in The Carlsberg Papyri series has been in preparation for some time.

68 The temple library included around a dozen medical papyri (the material has not yet been fully sorted); three herbals, describing the medical properties of various plants, and the rest *receptaria*. Most of the texts are demotic, but a few are written in Greek. Cf. HOFFMANN, Friedhelm, 'Neue ägyptische medizinische Texte in Kopenhagen und Berlin: Einige Notizen', *Les Études classiques* 80, 2012, p. 13–24, to which may be added RYHOLT, Kim, "The Illustrated Herbal from Tebtunis: New Fragments and Archaeological Context", *ZPE* 187, 2013, p. 233–238; RYHOLT, Kim, "A New Copy of the Indexed Herbal from the Tebtunis Temple Library", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming; and JACOB, Amber, "Demotic Pharmacology: An Overview of the Demotic Medical Manuscripts in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection", in N. Reggiani / F. Bertonazzi (eds.), *Parlare la medicina: fra lingue e culture, nello spazio e nel tempo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Università di Parma, 4–7 Settembre 2016*, Firenze, forthcoming.

69 I thank Ivan Guermeur for bringing this fragment to my attention.

70 I presented a description of this papyrus, under the title "A collection of unique biographical texts on a papyrus", at the 12th International Congress of Demotic Studies in Würzburg, 3 Sept. 2014.

71 It was apparently not known why this marriage in his early life had ended, and so whoever compiled his biography wrote down both of the two obvious possibilities.

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third wife and they adopted five children, three sons and two daughters. As an old man, he became lame because of his right hip. He died "in the city in which he was born", an ideal often expressed in literary contexts. The cause of his death was a "disease of the body or disease of the limbs". A description of his physical appearance, which resembles those found in Greek and—less commonly—demotic documents, except that it is much more detailed, mentions among other things his honey-coloured complexion, his broad face, and his big lips.[72]

The second man, who was a Gemini, died at the age of "81 years, 1 months, and [...] days". He had a tall face and a beard. He also became very wealthy and gained possession of the property of his father and, apparently, also his grandfather. However, he also seized property through oppression and he had "sexual intercourse with the wives of his friends". Yet he had "a good destiny in the end", again an ideal that occurs as a prediction in several divinatory manuals. The description of his inappropriate behaviour is unique among Egyptian biographies, but is easily explained in the present context, since all aspects of his life would be relevant to the empirical study of astrology.

The source for the biographies was presumably the relatives or colleagues of the two men, but no information about their background is preserved. The mention of their wealth, and certain other details, provides an indication of their social status. Yet it seems impossible to determine whether they might have been priests, whether they were residents of Tebtunis, or even when they lived. There is no reason why material such as this should not have circulated for study among the different temples, since astrology would have been practiced all over the country.

Another important papyrus consists of a number of fragments found in 2010 and 2012, among which the earliest are **SCA 8325+8340**. The text on the recto is astronomical in nature and includes a detailed description of the motion of the planet Venus. It contains a long list of dated entries followed by observations such as "it rose in [the east] for 31 days", "it rose in the west for 38 days", or "it went to rest in the east for 29 days". The recto also includes a table which consists of at least six columns and twenty rows. Each field is inscribed sequentially with a regnal-year, column by column. The first field contains the 2nd regnal-year of Ptolemy II and the last preserved field is inscribed with the 17th year equalling the 6th year of the co-regency between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. Accordingly, the table covered a period at least 120 years from 284/283 BC to 165/164 BC. The transition from one reign to another corresponds to the established chronology of the Ptolemies: Year 38 of Ptolemy II is followed by the first year of Ptolemy III, year 25 of Ptolemy III must have been followed by the first year of Ptolemy IV (reconstructed), year 17 of Ptolemy IV is followed by the first year of Ptolemy V, year 24 of Ptolemy V must have been followed by the first year of Ptolemy VI (reconstructed), and year 11 of Ptolemy VI is followed by year 12 equalling year 1 of the co-regency between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. It is noteworthy that all the preserved regnal-years of Ptolemy V are written in red, an ominous colour frequently with negative connotations, which leads one to suspect that it might be related to the Great Theban Rebellion that dominated his reign. The verso is

72 For references to demotic examples, cf. MAIRS, Rachel / MARTIN, Cary J., "A Bilingual 'Sale' of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes", *Enchoria* 31, 2008–9, p. 33–34.

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inscribed with a model document (described below), which covers only a small section of the surface; it is otherwise blank.

Apparently also astronomical is the minor fragment **SCA 5146.7**. Astrological papyri include **SCA 8328.5+8330**, which mentions Jupiter, as well as **SCA 8428.5** and **SCA 488H**. The latter belongs to the limited group of papyri not found at the dump.

A different type of divination, which was only recently identified, involves sand and the manual in question is attested by six very fragmentary copies: four from Tebtunis, one from Oxyrhynchus, and one without known provenance.[73] One of these is **SCA 6410.6+8317.1** which consists of two fragments found several years apart, in 2001 and 2010. They include a section from the beginning of the manual with invocations of some form of figures central to this kind of divination, "Awaken for me, O ..." (*nhsy n=y ...*). The fragments of three other copies from Tebtunis are in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection and, given their Ptolemaic date, they presumably also derive from the dump.

The fragment **SCA 7945** also preserves some form of divination, but its nature is not clear. It includes conditional phrases such as "if you hear" and "if you see" and predictions of the usual kind.

Mathematical handbooks are presented by fragments of three papyri: **SCA 8449**, **SCA 5159.1** (2 fragments), and **SCA 4690.1** (5 fragments). The first of them is the better-preserved and is inscribed with geometrical problems. Like the second papyrus, it is an opisthograph. At least two further demotic mathematical handbooks have been found at Tebtunis; one among the temple library (also an opisthograph) and the other perhaps from the dump.[74]

Magical texts

A large but somewhat threadbare magical papyrus, **SCA 8661** (15.3 x 38.8 cm), contains incantations against scorpions. It includes the typical self-identification with deities — "I am Horus son of Isis", "I am Osiris" — and threats such as "I will crush (*wšf*) Osiris". Another smaller fragment, **SCA 6887.3**, might also be magical. It includes the phrase "What happens to me today, it will happen [...]" twice, and passages such as "I am the one who was born before (*r-ḥr*) him" and "I am the one who provided nourishment (*ỉ.ỉr ẖrꜣ*)".[75]

Model documents and scribal exercises

A number of papyri include models or templates for different types of texts. Most prominent are the legal templates, some of which form part of law collections and commentaries on such collections. Several examples from the earlier excavations at the site

73 The nature of this form of divination is still largely obscure; a preliminary discussion with an edition of four copies of the manual in question is presented by QUACK, Joachim Friedrich / RYHOLT, Kim, "A Ptolemaic Manual on Sand Divination", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming.

74 The former, P.Carlsberg 30, is published in PARKER, Richard A., *Demotic Mathematical Papyri*, London, 1972, while the latter, P.Carlsberg 637, is unpublished.

75 For *ỉr ẖr.t*, "provide nourishment", in divine epithets, see LEITZ, Christian (dir.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (*LGG*) I. OLA 110, Leuven, 2002, p. 481–485.

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have already been published: a fragment of the 44th column of a law collection,[76] a minor fragment of another,[77] the commentary known as "Legal Manual of Tebtunis",[78] as well as a collection of legal templates copied by the authorised scribe Haryôthês son of Harmiysis (*fl.* 136–105 BC) for his professional use.[79] The commentary formed part of the temple library, while the others—in view of their date—are likely to derive from the dump.[80]

SCA 6878 is a smaller fragment from the law collection also attested in the manuscript known as Codex Hermopolis, which includes a series of legal templates, and the best preserved text corresponds to col. II.17–22.[81] An isolated template is inscribed on the verso of the above-mentioned astronomical papyrus **SCA 8325+**. It begins with the words "Beginning of the *mwly* which the men who will make inquiry make". The meaning of *mwly* is uncertain; might it relate to the text on the recto, perhaps some form of report about the astronomical observations? The reference to "making enquiry" would be compatible with such an interpretation and it would also help explain why we find the document in this specific context. Yet the verb *šn* is not confined to enquiries of divinatory nature, but also to temple and other affairs in general, and so other interpretations are possible as well. While the identity of the individual concerned is rendered by the quasi-pronoun *pꜣ mn sꜣ pꜣ mn mw.t=f tꜣ mn.t*, "NN son of NN, whose mother is NN", the document is otherwise filled out specifically for a Tebtunis setting by the explicit mention of "Soknebtunis, the great god" and "the division of Polemon on the [south] side [of the] canal [of lake Moeris in the district of Arsinoe]". The template was thus only semi-generic; while it could be used by (or on behalf of) different individuals, it was intended for use within a specific geographical context, the town of Tebtunis, just like the above-mentioned collection of legal templates copied by Haryôthês son of Harmiysis.

SCA 6856, a nice large fragment (25 × 30,5 cm), preserves parts of three columns on its recto and a further column on the verso. The text includes a series of model letters that can

76 TAIT, John, "P. Carlsberg 236: Another Fragment of a Demotic Legal Manual", in P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *Demotic Texts from the Collection*. The Carlsberg Papyri 1. CNIP 15, Copenhagen, 1991, p. 93–101.

77 LIPPERT, Sandra L., "Fragmente demotischer juristischer Bücher", in F. Hoffmann / H.J. Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich*. StudDem 6, Leuven, 2004, p. 403–405.

78 PSI inv. D 1 + P.Carlsberg 301: BRESCIANI, Edda, 'Frammenti da un "prontuario legale" demotico da Tebtuni nell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze', *EVO* 4, 1981, p. 201–215, pl. 1–3, and CHAUVEAU, Michel, "P. Carlsberg 301: Le manuel juridique de Tebtynis", in P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *Demotic Texts from the Collection*. The Carlsberg Papyri 1. CNIP 15, Copenhagen, 1991, p. 103–123, pl. 8–9.

79 MARTIN, Cary J., "How to Write a Demotic Legal Document: P.BM EA 10648", in G. Widmer / D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IXe congrès international des études démotiques*. BdE 147, Cairo, 2009, p. 195–222; MARTIN, Cary J., "Another Legal Template from Tebtynis: P.BM EA 10643", in F. Haikal (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*. BdE 164, Cairo, 2015, p. 277–302. A fragment that belongs between the two already published fragments (and demonstrates that they form part of a single papyrus as already suggested by the editor) has since been discovered in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection; it is being prepared for publication by Cary Martin and myself.

80 The nature of a fifth and as yet unpublished model document, P.Carlsberg 901, remains uncertain.

81 MATTHA, Girgis / HUGHES, George R., *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*. BdE 45, Cairo, 1975; DONKER VAN HEEL, Koen, *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis: P.Mattha, Text and Translation.* Uitgaven vanwege de stichtung "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut" 11, Leiden, 1990.

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be added to those inscribed on the papyrus discussed by Prada which presumably also derives from the dump at Tebtunis.[82] A few lines of one section are worth citing for their "gender equality", providing certain greetings in the common masculine form followed by the feminine form.[83]

ỉ ỉr=f pꜣ ꜥḥꜥ (n) Pꜣ-Rꜥ	*ỉ ỉr=s pꜣ ꜥḥꜥ n Pꜣ-Rꜥ*
ỉ tw Pꜣ-Rꜥ q pꜣy=f ꜥḥꜥ	*ỉ tw Pꜣ-Rꜥ q pꜣy=s ꜥḥꜥ*
"O, may he enjoy the life-time of Re!	O, may she enjoy the life-time of Re!
O, may Re prolong his life-time!	O, may Re prolong her life-time!"

Another nice fragment, **SCA 6851**, is inscribed with a hieratic text on the recto[84] and preserves two columns of a demotic scribal exercise on the verso. The latter contains a series of imperative sentences constructed with *my sḏm=f*, which may again be compared with the exercise inscribed on the verso of the papyrus discussed by Prada. The hieratic text ends with one of the few colophons preserved among the papyri from Tebtunis. It was written in demotic by a scribe with the patronym Sokonôpis and it is dated to an 11th regnal-year.[85] Since two legal documents from the same locus date to the 33rd and 37th regnal-year of Ptolemy VIII, the 11th regnal-year is presumably either that of Ptolemy V or Ptolemy VI, i.e. 194 BC or 170 BC. Accordingly, the literary papyrus would have been at least some 35 to 60 years old when it was discarded.

Some minor fragments preserve what appears to be sections of scribal exercises formed on imperatives, e.g. *hb*, "Send ..." (**SCA 7951.2**) and *rḫ*, "Know ..." (**SCA 6884.7**). A fragment, found in 2016 (locus B7805), preserves just three lines and it is perhaps cultic rather than an exercise: *[hr? nꜣ] ntr.w / hr nꜣ sšm.w / hr nꜣ ḫbr[.w]*, "[The] gods [are content(?).] The divine images are content. The form[s] are content".[86]

The nature of **SCA 7573.1**, which was found close to the above-mentioned Chasheshonqy fragment **SCA 7573.2**, is also uncertain. It includes a series of lines with the words *[...] ỉw=y šn=k m-qty [...]*. We seem to have here a parallel to two fragments of P.BM EA 10856 (ex Michaelidis) which preserve two and five lines, respectively, beginning with *tw-s ỉw=y šn=k m-qty ...*, "Behold, I will ask you like ...".[87]

Reading texts, looking for architecture

The fortunate combination of well-preserved architectural remains and a rich corpus of textual sources at Tebtunis provides a good potential for identifying buildings on the basis

82 PRADA, Luigi, "Egyptian Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: A Take from the Fayum—School Textbooks and *P.Schulübung* Revisited", present volume, p. 101–128.

83 Cf. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter*, p. 130.

84 GUERMEUR, in Lippert / Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology*, p. 119–120.

85 For colophons in hieratic and demotic papyri from Tebtunis, see RYHOLT, Kim, "The End of a Narrative with a Colophon", in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*. The Carlsberg Papyri 11. CNIP 36, forthcoming.

86 The fragment had not yet been assigned an inventory number when I studied it at the site.

87 BRESCIANI, Edda, *Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis*. Orientis antiqvi collection 11, Rome, 1963, p. 20, pl. IX (where the verb *šn* is misinterpreted as *ḥp*, 'hide'; already corrected in *CDD š*, p. 162).

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of the contemporary records. A well-known example is the chapel of Thermouthis, Building 4000, which was identified thanks to *P.Cair.* II 30617.[88] A more recent example is the identification of Building B3200 as a structure pertaining to the cult of the deified general Nechtpharaus on the basis of a demotic stele found re-used as filling at its eastern entrance.[89] There is more potential and I would like to offer a few examples relating to the papyri currently under study.

Among the more than one hundred documents of self-dedication, only one is addressed to the deity Tesenouphis, **SCA 1206**. Significantly, this papyrus was not found in the dump by the temple of Soknebtunis along with the other documents of this type, but in a mixed layer at the tower house or *pyrgos* designated Building 2400. This may indicate that the sanctuary of Tesenouphis, whether a chapel or a small temple, was located in the vicinity of Building 2400, perhaps along the dromos leading east to the sanctuary of Tefresudja. By contrast, a single oracle question addressed to Sokonôpis and another addressed to Stotoêtis, **SCA 4708.2** and **6409.3**, were found in the dump next to the main temple among a large number addressed to Soknebtunis.[90] An association between the priests of Soknebtunis and Sokonôpis is attested in other contemporary documents from Tebtunis; one is a list of priests "who act as priests of Sokonôpis", and in the other they attend (perhaps having accompanied?) a procession of Sokonôpis at Narmouthis.[91] The context of the oracle question might indicate that the chapel of Sokonôpis should be sought inside the main temple or next to it. However, matters are not necessarily that simple. Another unique item, the above-mentioned oracle question addressed to Tefresduja, was also found in the dump, although his sanctuary must lie some distance to the east. Yet in this case, the reason may be that the dromos of Tefresudja leads up to that of Soknebtunis. Oracle questions were often presented to deities when they came out in procession, and the location where Tefresudja would be consulted might have been close to that of Soknebtunis. Perhaps this activity took place specifically in the area known as the *ššʿ* of the two dromoi of Soknebtunis and Tefresuadja. The *ššʿ* of Soknebtunis should presumably be identified with the so-called "vestibule", a large confined area (13,9 × 14.3 m.) at the beginning of the dromos immediately outside the temple,[92] and a text from the 1st century BC indicates that the two *ššʿ* were located close to one another.[93]

Several documentary texts mention a building which is referred to, most fully, as "the broad hall of the house-of-deliberation at the temple of Tebtunis". The "house of deliberation" is also attested in relation to other temples and must represent the formal meeting place for the council consisting of those priests who were designated "the *wab*-priests who deliberate" (*nꜣ wʿb.w nty mnq md.t*) in Egyptian or "the councillor priests" (οἱ

88 GALLAZZI, Claudio / HADJI-MINAGLOU, Gisèle, *Tebtynis I: La reprise des fouilles et la quartier de la chapelle d'Isis-Thermouthis*, Cairo, 2000, p. 17–34.

89 RYHOLT, Kim, "Textes démotiques / Inscriptions et graffiti", in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia*, Cairo, forthcoming, no. 41.

90 **SCA 4708.2** is edited as no. 79 in the above-mentioned catalogue by Di Cerbo.

91 MONSON, Andrew, "Priests of Soknebtunis and Sokonopis", *JEA* 92, 2006, p. 208–209.

92 RONDOT, Vincent, *Tebtynis II: Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*, Cairo, 2004, p. 103–143.

93 Cf. GALLAZZI, Claudio / HADJI-MINAGLOU, Gisèle, *Tebtynis I: La reprise des fouilles et la quartier de la chapelle d'Isis-Thermouthis*, Cairo, 2000, p. 62.

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βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς) in Greek.[94] The documents in question range from the second century BC to the second century AD, and we are therefore dealing with a building that was in use for at least some 300 years, presumably one of those located in the courtyard of the Soknebtunis temple in its northern part between the outer and inner gates.

A join across centuries: The Contest for Inaros' Armour

One of the more surprising discoveries in terms of context is a tiny fragment from the dump, **SCA 7927.7**, which I first saw in 2011 and identified as part of a papyrus from the temple library deposit inscribed with *The Contest for Inaros' Armour*.[95] This fragment was excavated in 2007, while the other known fragments of the papyrus were excavated in 1930 and 1931. There is often a wind or breeze in the desert, and windblown material is occasionally identified. Perhaps this fragment was carried to its place of discovery in antiquity or during the old excavations? The new fragment joins left of Frg. 1, col. II.1–3, at a short distance, and provides a few new words.

Conclusion

The importance of the papyri excavated by the Franco-Italian mission at Tebtunis can hardly be overstated. Together with other material discovered by the current mission, and the papyri from earlier excavations, the community centred on the temple of Soknebtunis in particular provides an ideal case study of a well-defined society in the Greco-Roman. The potential is considerable. Much of the town along the main street—the dromos—is preserved, along with a number of institutions and facilities, and so are many of the houses in which the priests once lived. The numerous texts allow us to reconstruct in some detail the hierarchy of the temple personnel, establish family trees and social networks, and gain insight into both their professional and private lives. As regards prosopography, to mention two prominent offices, the texts add substantially to the lists of authorised scribes and lesonis drawn up in recent years.[96] The literary papyri for their part add valuable new material to what is already the single largest discovery of ancient Egyptian literature to date, the Tebtunis temple library deposit, with its estimated 400 cultic, scientific, and narrative texts. With the combination of the exceptionally rich documentary and literary material, it is safe to assume that we will know more about the day-to-day operation and activities of the temple of Soknebtunis, in a broad perspective, than of any other ancient Egyptian temple.

94 RYHOLT, Kim, "An Egyptian Narrative from Karanis (P.Mich. inv. 5641a)", in R. Jasnow / G. Widmer (eds.), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 2, Atlanta, 2017, p. 331–332, pl. 23.

95 RYHOLT, Kim, "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P.Krall", *JEA* 84, 1998, p. 151–169, pl. XIX; RYHOLT, Kim, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*. The Carlsberg Papyri 10. CNIP 35, Copenhagen, 2012, p. 73–102, pl. 9–10.

96 MARTIN, in *The Realm of the Pharaohs*, p. 323–332; CHAUFRAY, Marie-Pierre, *La fonction du lésônis dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque saïte a l'époque romaine*, PhD thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 2011.

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Möglichkeiten und Grenzen zweisprachiger Textdokumentation am Beispiel des Titels „Phylenpriesterin“

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Die zweisprachige Textdokumentation

Die Zweisprachigkeit im Ägypten der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit bietet heutigen Forschern großartige Möglichkeiten, sowohl für linguistische und onomastische Untersuchungen als auch für die Erforschung des religiösen Systems, der Sozialgeschichte, der Administration, des Rechtswesens, der Ökonomie usw. Einerseits können demotische Quellen Informationen aus griechischen Textzeugen bestätigen und *vice versa*; als Beispiel seien hier nur die zweisprachigen Verkaufsurkunden erwähnt, die einen demotischen Urkundentext und deren griechische Zusammenfassung aufweisen. Die Namen der beteiligten Parteien, das Verkaufsobjekt sowie dessen Lage werden quasi doppelt genannt, im Urkundentext und in der Zusammenfassung, so daß sich Lücken oder schlecht lesbare Passagen anhand des anderssprachigen Teiles ergänzen oder verifizieren lassen.[1] Andererseits gibt es neben dem Miteinander der Zeugnisse in den zwei verschiedenen Sprachen, ein Nebeneinander. Dies wird besonders deutlich im Bereich der Tempeladministration. Während die bei den staatlichen Behörden zur Kontrolle einzureichenden Berichte und Register über die wirtschaftliche und personelle Situation der Tempel in Griechisch abzufassen waren[2], wurden die tempelinternen Akten in der Regel auf Demotisch geführt.[3] Dazu gehören die sogenannten Abmachungen. Darunter sind

1 Ein rezenteres Negativbeispiel ist die Erstedition von pWien D 6936 = *P.Dime* III 2 = TM 58204 (MESSERI, Gabriella / PINTAUDI, Rosario, „Sottoscrizione greche a contratto di compravendita demotico“, in B. Palme (Hg.), *Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer (P.Harrauer)*, Wien, 2001, 75–80, Nr. 32, Taf. 18–19); dort wurde nur die griechische Hypographe publiziert, ohne daß der darüberstehenden demotischen Urkunde Beachtung geschenkt worden wäre. Dies zieht eine Reihe von Fehllesungen bzw. Fehlinterpretationen nach sich, die sich hätten vermeiden lassen. Die Erstedition des gesamten Dokuments samt weiterer Fragmente findet sich als *P.Dime* III 2 bei LIPPERT, Sandra Luisa / SCHENTULEIT, Maren, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III: Urkunden*. Wiesbaden, 2010, 125–138.

2 Einen umfassenden, wenn auch auf einem frühen Forschungsstand basierenden Überblick über die Quellen aus dem Fajum bietet OTTO, Walter, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1905, Nd. Rom, 1971, II, 145–162. Ein umfangreicheres Haushaltsbuch des Tempels in Soknopaiu Nesos mit detailliertem Kommentar sowie Fragmente einer Priesterliste wurden von Andrea JÖRDENS veröffentlicht: *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P.Louvre I)*. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 43, Bonn, 1998 Nr. 4–6, 19–49, Taf. 4–9.

3 Ausführlicher dazu: LIPPERT, Sandra Luisa, „Seeing the Whole Picture. Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough“, in T. Gagos (Hg.), *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology. Ann Arbor, July 29 – August 4, 2007*. American Studies in Papyrology, Special Edition, Ann Arbor, 2010, 430–434, fig. 3–7.

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Verpflichtungsübereinkommen zwischen der Priesterschaft des Soknopaios-Tempels und Priester- bzw. Handwerkergruppen zu verstehen, die nur auf Demotisch vorliegen.[4] Ein weiteres interessantes Beispiel ist der für Soknopaiu Nesos bedeutsame Wirtschaftszweig der Kamelzucht und des Kamelhandels, in die, wie Jördens gezeigt hat, die priesterlichen Familien stark eingebunden waren. Die in diesem Kontext belegten Kamelverkaufsverträge liegen bislang nur auf Griechisch vor.[5] Die Einritzung eines Kamels auf der Seite einer Sitzstatue aus Soknopaiu Nesos (Kairo CG 1191[6]) läßt sich insofern nach dem momentanen Forschungsstand nur anhand der griechischen Quellen plausibel interpretieren[7].

Um so auffälliger ist es, wenn Diskrepanzen zwischen den Informationen aus griechisch- und ägyptischsprachigen Quellen festzustellen sind. Ein gutes und inzwischen detailliert untersuchtes Beispiel ist das Phänomen, daß in ptolemäer- und römerzeitlichen Rechtsurkunden ägyptische Frauen mal mit einem Rechtsvormund, mal ohne einen solchen Kyrios agieren. Nach enchorischem Recht galt die rechtliche Selbständigkeit der ägyptischen Frauen, nach griechischem und römischem Recht mußten Frauen durch einen Geschlechtsvormund begleitet werden.[8] Nachdem man gemutmaßt hat, daß das griechische Recht langsam in die enchorischen Gepflogenheiten eingesickert sei[9] und sich auch ägyptische Frauen selbst nicht mehr befugt sahen, Rechtsgeschäfte eigenständig abzuschließen[10], hat sich herausgestellt, daß die Inanspruchnahme eines Vormundes auf dem anzuwendenden Recht basierte, das heißt dem ägyptischen oder dem griechischen Recht, was wiederum von der Sprache des Rechtsdokumentes abhing. Als Ergebnis dieser Praxis treten ägyptische Frauen in demotischen Hausverkaufsurkunden, die als

4 Für einen Überblick über das weitgehend noch unpublizierte Material siehe LIPPERT, Sandra Luisa, „Die Abmachungen der Priester. Einblicke in das Leben und Arbeiten in Soknopaiou Nesos“, in M. Capasso / P. Davoli (Hg.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology. Lecce, June 8th – 10th 2005*. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14, Galatina, 2005, 147–155.

5 JÖRDENS, Andrea, „Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiu Nesos“, in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (Hg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 51–53 mit Verweisen auf weitere Literatur. Hingegen sind Eselsverkäufe sowohl auf Griechisch (z.B. *P.Louvre* I 13–15) als auch auf Demotisch belegt (*P.Dime* III 33–34 = TM 48887 und TM 109341).

6 ZAUZICH, Karl-Theodor, „Eine Statueninschrift aus Soknopaiu Nesos“, *Enchoria* 15, 1987, 215–217; BIANCHI, Robert Steven, „The Cultural Transformation of Egypt as Suggested by a Group of Enthroned Male Figures from the Faiyum“, in J. Johnson (Hg.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. SAOC 51, Chicago 1992, Doc. C-1; VLEEMING, Sven Pieter, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications*. StudDem 5, Leuven-Paris-Sterling/VA, 2001, 90–92, no. 129.

7 Das Objekt ist Gegenstand einer derzeit durchgeführten Studie der Autorin zu Repräsentation und Identität im römerzeitlichen Soknopaiu Nesos.

8 LIPPERT, Sandra, *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 5, Münster, 2008, 116.

9 VANDORPE, Katelijn, „Identity“, in Chr. Riggs (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford, 2012, 269.

10 SIJPESTEIJN, Pieter Johannes / WORP, Klaas Anthony, „Ein Hausverkauf aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P.Lond. inv. 1976)“, in R. Feenstra et al. (Hg.), *Collatio Iuris Romani. Études dédiées à Hans Ankum à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*. Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia 35, Amsterdam, 1995, 518.

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Sicherungsurkunden für ein Darlehen dienen, ohne Vormund auf, während sie in dem auf demselben Papyrus fixierten Darlehensvertrag mit Kyrios genannt ist.[11]

Die Bezeichnung „Phylenpriesterin"

Eine weitere Diskrepanz ist die Betitelung von ägyptischen Frauen als Phylenpriesterinnen in griechischen dokumentarischen Texten, die sich in den zeitgleichen demotischen Quellen nicht nachweisen läßt. In der Forschung ist dies tatsächlich nicht als Widersprüchlichkeit empfunden worden. Vielmehr werden für diese Fehlstelle verschiedene Erklärungen angeboten mit dem Ziel, die Existenz von ägyptischen Phylenpriesterinnen zu postulieren.[12]

Wie jedoch das bereits genannte Beispiel zur Anwendungspraxis des Frauenrechtsvormundes gezeigt hat, ist das Postulat einer absoluten Übertragbarkeit oder Deckungsgleichheit der Informationen aus verschiedensprachigen Quellen nicht zwingend, sondern verstellt vielmehr den Weg auf der Suche nach möglichen Gründen von Diskrepanzen.

Im Folgenden werden verschiedene Erklärungsansätze inklusive derjenigen der bisherigen Forschung auf ihre Plausibilität hin untersucht. Zunächst wird ganz basal der Frage nachgegangen, ob im pharaonenzeitlichen ägyptischen Quellenmaterial Belege für Phylenpriesterinnen zu finden sind; in einem nächsten Schritt werden die griechischen Quellen der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit einer Analyse unterzogen. Im Anschluß wird, abweichend von der derzeitigen *communis opinio*, die Möglichkeit erläutert, die Bezeichnung „Phylenpriesterin" als Merkmal der priesterlichen Abstammung zu verstehen, das wiederum im griechischsprachigen Kontext als Statusbezeichnung von Frauen verwendet werden konnte.

Phylen als Organisationseinheiten in der pharaonischen Zeit und die Existenz weiblicher Phylen(mitglieder)

Der folgende Abschnitt ist nicht als eine umfassende Untersuchung der Thematik angelegt, sondern als Stichprobe gemeint, die aufzeigen soll, wie belastbar die Beleglage für weibliche Phylenanghörige in der pharaonischen Zeit tatsächlich ist.

Das Wort φυλή „Phyle" ist die griechische Wiedergabe des ägyptischen Wortes *sꜣ* (; ), womit eine Gruppe von Arbeitern oder Priestern als Grundlage für die Organisation von spezifischen Arbeitsabläufen bezeichnet wird. Bereits seit dem Alten Reich wurde der Tempeldienst durch monatlich sich abwechselnde Priesterphylen ausgeführt, und dieses System bestand grundsätzlich bis in die römische Epoche fort, wobei im Laufe der Zeit durchaus Modifikationen vorgenommen wurden. Das zunächst aus fünf Phylen bestehende System wurde auf vier Gruppen reduziert, unter Ptolemaios III. Euergetis wurde es durch das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v. Chr.) wiederum auf fünf Phylen

11 SCHENTULEIT, Maren, „Nicht ohne Vormund? Frauen in römerzeitlichen bilinguen Urkunden aus Soknopaiu Nesos", in R. Eberhard / H. Kockelmann / St. Pfeiffer / M. Schentuleit (Hg.), *'... vor dem Papyrus sind alle gleich!' Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer (P.Kramer)*. APF Beihefte 27, Berlin-New York, 2009; LIPPERT, Sandra L. *Einführung in die Rechtsgeschichte*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 5, 163.

12 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35.

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erweitert.[13] Dieses Fünfer-Phylensystem ist nachweislich bis in römische Zeit weitergeführt worden.[14]

Neben den in Phylen organisierten Priestern existierten Priesterämter außerhalb dieses Systems, wobei die Priesterkategorien, die den Phylen angehörten, im Laufe der Zeit wechselten. Die ältesten Hinweise für eine Verbindung von Phylen und Frauen im Kultdienst finden sich überhaupt erst aus dem Neuen Reich, genauer der 19. Dynastie, um 1280 v. Chr. Während die Organisation in Phylen für die männlichen Gottesdiener (*ḥm.w-nṯr*) seit dem Alten Reich belegt ist, findet sich für das weibliche Pendant *ḥm.wt-nṯr* in Verbindung mit verschiedenen vorzugsweise weiblichen Gottheiten keine solche Phylenverbindung[15]; ebenso stellt sich die Situation im Mittleren Reich dar[16]. Für die Wab-Priester (*wʿb*) wird eine Phylenzugehörigkeit im Alten Reich noch diskutiert[17], und ein Beleg für weibliche Wab-Priester (*wʿb.t*) ist noch nicht erbracht[18]. Die frühesten Zeugnisse für diese finden sich aus dem Mittleren Reich[19], doch weisen die wenigen bekannten Zeugnisse aus dieser Epoche keine Verbindung zu einer Phyle auf.

Die weiblichen Kultpersonaltitel, die im Neuen Reich mit der Phylenorganisation in Verbindung stehen, sind *šmʿ.yt (n) GN* „Sängerin (des) Gottes GN" und *wr.t ḫnr.t (n) GN* „Große des Harims (des) Gottes GN". Auf dem Kuboid Kairo CG 42122 wird eine Sängerin des Amun-Re (*šmʿ.t n Ỉmn-Rʿ*) als *ḥr sꜣ sn.nw* bezeichnet, was zunächst als Titel eines weiblichen Phylarchen, eines Phylenleiters, gedeutet wurde.[20] Daraus hat man geschlossen, daß es eine eigene Phylenorganisation der weiblichen Priesterschaft gegeben habe. Nun ist dieses *ḥr* jedoch nicht als defektive Schreibung der Nisbe *ḥr.t* „die Obere, die Vorsteherin" zu verstehen, sondern als Präposition, wie bereits im 3. Band des *Wörterbuchs*

13 PFEIFFER, Stefan, *Das Dekret von Kanopus (238 v. Chr.). Kommentar und historische Auswertung*. APF Beiheft 18, München / Leipzig, 2004, 106–109.

14 Einen Überblick über die römerzeitlichen griechischen Textquellen gibt OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 23–34. Dazu gehören Priesterlisten (*P.Louvre* I 6 Z. 8, 2. Jhd. n. Chr., Soknopaiu Nesos), das Haushaltsbuch des Soknopaios-Tempels (*P.Louvre* I 4 Z. 43, vor 166 n. Chr., Soknopaiu Nesos), und diverse Eingaben und Deklarationen (*P.Tebt.* II 299, 49–50 n. Chr., Tebtynis; *BGU* II 433 Z. 10, Soknopaiu Nesos, 190 n. Chr.; *SB* XVI 12785 Z. 10–11, Soknopaiu Nesos, 220 n. Chr.; *P.Lond.* II 353, S. 112–113, 221 n. Chr., Soknopaiu Nesos) sowie demotische Phylenzählungsostraka (LIPPERT, Sandra Luisa / SCHENTULEIT, Maren, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I: Ostraka*, Wiesbaden, 2006) und Quittungen aus der Tempelverwaltung (LIPPERT, Sandra Luisa / SCHENTULEIT, Maren, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II: Quittungen,* Wiesbaden, 2006).

15 Die Gottesdienerinnen der Hathor sind nach der Beleglage in der Mehrheit: JONES, Dilwyn, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*. BAR International Series 866 (II), Oxford, 2000, II, nos. 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016 etc.

16 WARD, William A., *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*, Beirut, 1986, 10.

17 ROTH, Ann Macy, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom. The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*. SAOC 48, Chicago, 1991, 82–84. SPALINGER, Anthony, „Further Remarks on the Old Kingdom Phyle System", *Orientalia* 82, 2013, 200.

18 FISCHER, Henry George, s.v. Priesterin, in W. Helck / W. Westendorf (Hg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, Wiesbaden, 1982, Sp. 1101. ROTH, *Egyptian Phyles*. SAOC 48, 82–84.

19 WARD, *Essays on Feminine Titles*, 6.

20 BLACKMAN, Aylward M., „On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy", *JEA* 7, 1921, 29.

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für Ägyptische Sprache aus dem Jahr 1929 festgestellt wurde.[21] Präpositionen unterliegen in vielen Sprachen einem idiomatischen Gebrauch, so daß es kaum verwundert, daß die in der Sekundärliteratur angebotenen Übersetzungen variieren: Während das besagte *Berliner Wörterbuch* die Phrase mit „von der x-ten Phyle“ wiedergibt, übersetzt Elizabeth Frood den Titel als „Sängerin des Amun-Re für die zweite Phyle“[22]. Eine weitere Übersetzungsvariante findet sich für den Titel *wr.t ḫnr.t Jmn-Rʿ ḥr sꜣ tp.j* auf dem Kuboid Kairo CG 42223 aus der 22. Dynastie (Zt. Osorkons III., um 780 v. Chr.). Karl Jansen-Winkeln gibt als Übersetzung „Große des Harims in der 1. Phyle“ an[23]. Wolfgang Helck hingegen konstatiert ohne explizite Belegangabe: „Ferner ist auf die ‘Sängerinnen’ und ‘Sistrumspielerinnen’ der Tempel hinzuweisen, wobei es sich um die gottesdienstlichen Tätigkeiten der Beamtenfrauen handelt, parallel zum Web-Dienst ihrer Männer; auch sie sind in den Phylen des Monatsdienstes organisiert“.[24]

Froods Übersetzung impliziert, daß sie nicht an eine echte Phylenmitgliedschaft denkt, sondern an eine assoziierte Zugehörigkeit. Ebenfalls charakterisiert Fisher, zumindest einer Formulierung in seinem Artikel zu Priesterinnen im *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* nach zu urteilen, die Verbindung zwischen den Musikerinnen und den (männlichen) Phylengruppen als Assoziierung: „Their [d. h. die der Frauen] connection with the temple was now expressed by the ubiquitous title ‘chantress’ with reference to a number of cults (...) nearly every woman of any status at Thebes was chantress of Amun attached to the various phyles of priests“[25]. Problematisch daran ist die Verallgemeinerung der Aussage. In der Tat gibt es ab dem Neuen Reich einen inflationären Gebrauch der Titel „Musikerin“ bzw. „Sängerin“ eines Gottes, allerdings ist die Angabe einer Phyle die große Ausnahme, und auch Fisher kann nur auf einen einzigen tatsächlichen Beleg aus dem Neuen Reich verweisen, wobei es sich um den bereits genannten Sängerinnen-Titel auf Kuboid Kairo CG 42122 handelt.

Ein weiterer Beleg des Neuen Reiches ist die Stele für Nebetkabeni, Kairo CG 34117 aus Abydos, deren Text recht instruktiv ist. Während die im ersten Register rechts abgebildete Frau als *šmʿ.yt n.t Jmn ḥr sꜣ 4(.nw)* „Sängerin des Amun bei/in (o.ä.) der 4. Phyle“ bezeichnet wird, ist der am Opfertisch sitzende Mann mit *wʿb sꜣ tp.j* „Wab-Priester der 1. Phyle“ betitelt. Die Phylenkennzeichnung ist somit abweichend von der weiblichen Titelangabe in direkter Genitivverbindung angehängt. Hieraus könnte der Schluß zu ziehen sein, daß die Präposition *ḥr* tatsächlich eine Assoziierung und keine echte Mitgliedschaft kennzeichnet. Es ist vorstellbar, daß Sängerinnen und Musikerinnen einer bestimmten Phyle zugeordnet und damit Dienstzeiten korreliert wurden.

Die Konstruktion mit der Präposition *ḥr* wird findet ebenfalls in der der Spätzeit (26.–31. Dynastie, 664–332 v. Chr.) Anwendung: *wr.t ḫnr.t n Jmn-Rʿ ḥr sꜣ tp.j* „Große (des) Harims des Amun-Re in/bei der ersten Phyle“ (Würfelhocker Kairo CG 42223 aus der Cachette von Karnak, 22. Dynastie, Zt. Osorkons III.[26]) und *jḥ(j).t n Jmn [ḥr] sꜣ 4.nw*

21 *Wb* III, 132.

22 FROOD, Elizabeth, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World 26, Leiden / Boston, 2007, 135.

23 JANSEN-WINKELN, Karl, *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil II: Die 22.–24. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden, 2007, 304.

24 HELCK, Wolfgang, s.v. Priester, in *LÄ* IV, Sp. 1090.

25 FISHER, s.v. Priesterin, in *LÄ* IV, Sp. 1102.

26 JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* II, Nr. 29.21, c) Vorderseite Z. 4 und d) Rückseite Z. 1.

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„Musikerin des Amun in/in der 4. Phyle“ (Würfelhocker Kairo CG 42211 aus der Cachette von Karnak, 23. Dynastie, Zt. Takeloths III.[27]). In dieser Zeit werden auch männliche Priestertitel, und zwar nicht nur Wab-Priester-Titel, mit dieser Präpositionalverbindung näher bestimmt, daneben wird die genitivische Anbindung verwendet. So erscheint beispielsweise der Titel *jdnw n pr Jmn-Jp.t n sꜣ 3.nw* „Beauftragter des Hauses des Amenemope der 3. Phyle“[28] auf einem anderen Objekt als *jdnw n pr Jmn-Jp.t ḥr sꜣ 3.nw* „Beauftragter des Hauses des Amenemope in der/für die 3. Phyle“[29]. Der Text auf dem Osirophor Kairo JE 38061 aus der Cachette von Karnak weist sogar Titel mit beiden syntaktischen Verbindungen auf.[30] Ob in diesen Fällen ebenfalls eine Unterscheidung zwischen Vollmitglied und assoziiertem Mitglied zu treffen ist, bleibt ganz unklar. Thematisiert wird dies in den einschlägigen Publikationen jedenfalls nicht.

Jüngst hat Anthony Spalinger in einer Untersuchung zum Phylensystem argumentiert, es habe nicht nur permanente, sondern auch temporäre Mitglieder in Phylen gegeben, was die Interpretationsmöglichkeiten nochmals erweitert.[31]

Zusammenfassend für die pharaonische Zeit läßt sich sagen, daß sich das Bild über die Art der Phylenzugehörigkeit von weiblichen Priestern nach der stichprobenhaften Analyse der Quellen weit weniger klar darstellt, als es die Sekundärliteratur zum Teil suggeriert.

Die Quellen der ptolemäischen und römischen Zeit

Wie in der Einleitung bereits angesprochen, lassen sich in demotischen dokumentarischen Texten keine Priesterinnen in Verbindung mit Phylen nachweisen. Bezüglich der griechischen Quellen ist zunächst eine Studie von Françoise Dunand aus dem Jahr 1978 zu nennen. Im Rahmen einer Untersuchung zum gesellschaftlichen Status der im Griechischen als *hiereia* bezeichneten ägyptischen Priesterinnen gibt sie 31 Belege für weibliche Individuen, die diesen Titel tragen.[32] Nach ihrer Liste werden drei davon mit einer spezifischen Phyle in Verbindung gebracht.

Dok. 1: pStraßburg VII 666 = TM 13421

Der Text stammt aus Neilopolis und datiert auf das Jahr 145 n. Chr. Segathis, Priesterin der ersten Phyle des Gottes Soknopaios, mit ihrem Geschlechtsvormund, einem Verwandten, der ebenfalls der ersten Phyle angehört, anerkennt in dieser Vereinbarung gegenüber ihrem Ehemann Horos, dessen Phylenzugehörigkeit gleichfalls angegeben wird, daß er für Segathis’ Sohn, Horos junior, dessen Vormund er ist, über acht Jahre Unterhalt gezahlt habe. Der Text gibt es nicht explizit an, doch ist aufgrunds der Formulierungen (Z. 10–13)

27 JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* II, Nr. 30.7, l) um Sockel, rechts.

28 JANSEN-WINKELN, Karl, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo*. ÄAT 45, Wiesbaden, 2001, I, Nr. 11.

29 JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*. ÄAT 45, I, Nr. 36.

30 JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*. ÄAT 45, I, Nr. 11, S. 52: *jdnw n pr Jmn-Jp.t n sꜣ 3.nw*; *jr.j-ʿfd.t n pr Mw.t ḥr sꜣ 3.nw* u.a.

31 SPALINGER, Anthony, „Further Remarks on the Old Kingdom Phyle System“, *Orientalia* 82, 2013, 206.

32 DUNAND, Françoise, „Le statut des hiereiai en Égypte romaine“, in M. B. de Boer / T. A. Edgeridge (Hg.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, Leiden, 1978, 356–357, Tab. 1.

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zu vermuten, daß es sich bei Horos senior um den Adoptivvater des besagten Jungen handelt.

Dok. 2: pLondon II 329, p. 113 = TM 11710

Diese Quittung stammt aus Soknopaiu Nesos und datiert in das Jahr 164 n. Chr. Sie dokumentiert die Einzahlung der Eiskrisis-Steuer, die beim Eintritt in das Priesteramt entrichtet werden mußte, in diesem Fall bei der Zulassung zur Priesterschaft des Soknopaios in Soknopaiu Nesos, genauer in die 5. Phyle. Als einzahlende Person wird Tesenuphis genannt. Damit wurde dieser Text als entscheidender Beleg für die Existenz von Phylenpriesterinnen angesehen, allerdings ist „Tesenuphis“, ägyptisch *Tš-nfr*, ein geschlechtsunspezifischer Name, und das entscheidende Wort, Priester/Priesterin, ist in der *editio princeps* in der femininen Form ἱερείας, in der *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri* (*DDbDP*) jedoch in der maskulinen Form ἱερεύς mit Fragezeichen angegeben[33]. Weder aus dem Kontext noch aus der Filiationsangabe geht das Geschlecht der Person hervor. Auf der Tafel der Erstedition ist m.E. tatsächlich die männliche Form des Titels zu erkennen, so daß man vermuten kann, daß der Bearbeiter den mit Te- beginnenden ägyptischen Namen versehentlich auf den ägyptischen Artikel *Tꜣ-* bzw. das Zuordnungspräfix *Ta-* zurückgeführt hat, welche häufig Bildungselemente weiblicher ägyptischer Anthroponyme sind.

Dok. 3: BGU I 28 = TM 9025

Diese Geburtsanzeige datiert in das Jahr 183 n. Chr. und stammt ebenfalls aus Soknopaiu Nesos. Die Eltern eines Mädchens zeigen damit bei den Behörden deren Geburt an. Der Vater gehört als Priester zur 5. Phyle des Soknopaios, die Mutter ist als Priesterin der 1. Phyle desselben Gottes bezeichnet (Z. 10–11). Dieser Text wird als Beleg herangezogen, daß Frauen nach der Heirat in der Phyle ihres Vaters verbleiben und nicht in die Phyle des Ehemanns wechseln.

Über diese 3 Belege hinaus, von denen der zweite zu eliminieren ist, lassen sich über die *DDbDP* noch zwei weitere finden.

Dok. 4: pLondon II 334 = TM 11714

Der Papyrus ist in Neilopolis gefunden worden und datiert in das Jahr 166 n. Chr. Es handelt sich um die Bestätigung für den Empfang eines Teils des Preises für den Kauf einer Immobilie. Die Verkäuferpartei besteht aus zwei Frauen, die jeweils mit einem Geschlechtsvormund auftreten. Ob eine verwandtschaftliche Beziehung zwischen den beiden besteht, wird aus den Filiationsangaben nicht deutlich. Verkäuferin A wird mit dem Titel *hiereia* bezeichnet, ohne Phylenangabe, der Vormund, ihr Sohn, ist Priester der 1. Phyle des Gottes Soknopaios. Die Passage zu Verkäuferin B (Z. 8–11) enthält nach der

33 <http://www.papyri.info/browse/ddbdp/>. Die Korrektur in der DDbDP wurde auf Basis von WILCKEN, Ulrich, Rezension zu F. G. Kenyon, Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum II, London, 1898, in APF, 1, 1901, 147 (Korrektur zu S. 113) vorgenommen; siehe bereits OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35, Fn. 3, der auf diese Korrektur hinweist.

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DDbDP den Titel „Phylenpriesterin“. Allerdings ist diese Lesung zu revidieren, und mit der *editio princeps* sowie Hunt und Edgar[34] ist [ἱ]έρε̣ι (Pap.) nicht als [ἱ]έρε̣ι(α) „Priesterin“ sondern als inkorrekte Form (Dativ statt Genitiv) von ἱερεύς „Priester“ aufzufassen, was auch bezüglich der Syntax und des Inhalts die einzige plausible Erklärung ist: Der Priesterinnentitel stünde andernfalls zwischen der Nennung des Vormundes und einer Signalementangabe, die wiederum nur auf den Vormund bezogen sein kann, da die Beschreibung der Frau Thases bereits nach der Nennung ihrer Filiation erfolgt.

Θασῆς Ὥρου τοῦ Πα(9)νεφρύμεω[ς	Thases, Tochter des Horos, des Sohnes des Panephrymis,
ὡ̣ς (ἐτῶν)] λ οὐλ(ὴ) γ̣ε̣ν̣νίῳ μέσῳ	ca. 30 Jahre alt, mit einer Narbe mitten auf dem Kinn,
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸ[ς]	mit ihrem eigenen Ehemann als Vormund,
Πανούφεως [Ἀγχώ]φεως τοῦ Ἀγχώφεως	Panuphis, Sohn des Anchophis, des Sohnes des Anchophis,
[ἱ]έρε̣ι τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς τοῦ αὐ(11)τοῦ θεοῦ	Priester derselben Phyle desselben Gottes,
\`ὡ̣ς (ἐτῶν) λα [οὐλ(ὴ)] μετώ(πῳ) δεξι̣ῷ̣ ....´	ca. 31 Jahre alt, mit einer Narbe rechts auf der Stirn ....

Dok. 5: pMünchen III 97 = TM 12480

Hierbei handelt es sich um ein Fragment eines Darlehensvertrages aus Soknopaiu Nesos aus der Zeit zwischen 161 und 180 n. Chr. Beide Vertragsparteien sind Frauen, die jeweils mit einem Geschlechtsvormund auftreten. Die als Vertragspartnerin B genannte Gläubigerin trägt den Titel *hiereia* (Z. 9), die folgende Passage ist nicht erhalten. U. Hagedorn setzt hier keine Phylenangabe an, sondern ergänzt die Herkunftsangabe „aus demselben Dorf“, was sich selbstverständlich auf Soknopaiu Nesos bezieht. Der Titel der Schuldnerin Herieus (Z. 4) ist bis auf Teile des Theonyms (Z. 4–5) nicht erhalten. Der Gottesname legt tatsächlich eine Bezeichnung aus dem Tempelmilieu nahe, für die von der Ersteditorin Hagedorn folgende Ergänzung vorgeschlagen wird[35]:

Ἑριεὺς θ[ή]λεια Παν̣.[± 23 ἀπὸ]	Herieus, weiblich, Tochter des Pan.[± 23] aus
[κ]ώμη[ς] Σ̣οκνοπα̣ί[ου Νήσου, ἱέρεια .... φυλῆς Σο]	dem Dorf Soknopai[u Nesos, Priesterin der x-ten Phyle des So-]
κνοπαίο[υ] θεοῦ με[γάλου μεγάλου	knopaios, des zweimal großen Gottes

34 HUNT, Arthur S. / EDGAR, Campbell C., *Select Papyri*, Cambridge, 1932, Vol. I, 76.

35 HAGEDORN, Ursula, *Griechische Urkundenpapyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Griechische Papyri Bd. 3: Nr. 45–154, Stuttgart 1986, 104–106.

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Somit ist die Passage, auf die es in diesem Kontext ankommt, allerdings komplett ergänzt.[36] Hagedorn verweist auf Ottos Ausführungen zur Gliederung der Priesterschaft in Phylen und zur Geburtsanzeige *BGU* I 28 = Dok. 3 als Beleg für Priesterinnen als Phylenmitglieder.[37]

Als Beleg für die Ptolemäerzeit dient Otto das Dekret von Kanopos aus dem Jahr 238 v. Chr.[38] Die von ihm angegebenen Stellen (Z. 27, 29, 71) beziehen sich auf die griechische Version des Triskriptes. Es heißt dort die Einrichtung der neuen 5. Phyle betreffend: „... (es) sollen diejenigen für diese Phyle ausgewählt werden, die seit dem ersten Jahr (scil. des Königs) Priester geworden sind, und diejenigen, die außerdem noch bis zum Monat Mesore im neunten Jahr eingesetzt werden, und deren Nachkommen (*ekgonous*) für alle Zeit.“[39] Für die Rekrutierung neuer Phylenpriester wird bestimmt, daß „ihre Nachfahren (d. h. der Priester, die schon vorher Phylenpriester waren) von jetzt an den gleichen Phylen zugeteilt werden, in denen ihre Väter sind“[40].

Für Otto ist die Wahl des allgemeinen Ausdruckes *ekgonoi* „Nachkommen, Nachfahren“ der Beleg, daß es sich hierbei um Nachkommen beiderlei Geschlechts handele.[41] In der ägyptischen Version wird der Begriff *ẖrd/ẖrṯ* (Z. 71 demotische Fassung) bzw. *ms* (ohne Determinativ!, Z. 35 hieroglyphische Fassung) verwendet, wobei es sich ebenfalls um allgemeine Ausdrücke für „Kind“ handelt, die sich im Ägyptischen jedoch regelmäßig und problemlos auf eine rein männliche Gruppe beziehen lassen[42]. Pfeiffer faßt deshalb in seiner Bearbeitung des Kanopos-Dekretes diesen Textabschnitt ohne weiteren Kommentar zusammen mit: „Die Söhne übernahmen das Amt ihrer Väter (...)“[43] .

Die zweite Stelle im Dekret-Text, die Otto heranzieht, betrifft Regelungen zum Unterhalt von Priestertöchtern, die im Dienst der verstorbenen Ptolemäerprinzessin Berenike stehen.[44] Der Wortlaut des Dekretes, das in allen drei Versionen inhaltlich übereinstimmt, ist: „(...) und da den Priestern der Unterhalt aus den Heiligtümern gegeben wird, nachdem sie in die Körperschaft aufgenommen worden sind, soll den Töchtern der Priester die zugeteilte Nahrung aus den heiligen Einkünften gegeben werden, von dem Tag, an dem sie geboren werden (...) anteilmäßig von den Tempeleinkünften“.[45]

Otto und andere haben aus diesem Passus geschlossen, daß die Priestertöchter „sogar gleich bei ihrer Geburt ohne weiteres Aufnahme in den Priesterstand gefunden haben“[46].

36 Andrea Jördens hat in der Diskussion im Anschluß an den Vortrag angemerkt, daß die Ergänzungen von Hagedorn die einzig plausiblen seien und somit der Text durchaus als Beleg für die Bezeichnung „Phylenpriesterin“ zu werten sei. Ich will Hagedorns Vorschlag nicht dogmatisch ablehnen, doch sollte für eine Argumentation zunächst auf die sicheren Belege zurückgegriffen werden. In einem nächsten Schritt ist zu untersuchen, in wieweit auch dieser mögliche Beleg meine These stützen kann.

37 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35.

38 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35.

39 Übersetzung: PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, 109.

40 Übersetzung: PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, 109.

41 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35, Fn. 4.

42 Siehe beispielsweise die Phrase *ms.w (n) Ḥr* „Horus-Kinder“, wobei es sich um eine Gruppe von vier männlichen Entitäten, die „Horus-Söhne“, handelt.

43 PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, 117.

44 Kanopus-Dekret Z. 70–73: OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, II, 34–36.

45 Kanopus-Dekret Z. 71; Übersetzung nach PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, 190.

46 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 203; so auch KEES, Hermann, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom*

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Wie auch Pfeiffer in seiner Dissertation über das Kanopos-Dekret herausstellt, werden diese Frauen jedoch nicht als Priesterinnen bezeichnet; es gibt keinen Akt der Einführung in ein Priesteramt, während bei den Männern dieser einer umfänglichen Prüfung vorausgeht, und es erfolgt keine Ernennung durch den König.[47] Es ist demnach wahrscheinlich, daß durch die Teilhabe an den Einkünften alleine keine Einstufung in den Priesterstatus verbunden war und diese Frauen schon gar nicht als Phylenpriesterinnen anzusprechen sind.[48] Das Kanopos-Dekret kann somit nicht als Beleg für die Organisation von Priesterinnen in Phylen herangezogen werden.

Eine ganze andere Textgattung, die auch Otto erwähnt, sind die griechischen Phylenlisten, die für die staatlichen Behörden erstellt wurden.[49] Diese führen unter den Phylenziffern 1 bis 5 die ihnen angehörenden Individuen auf und wären somit ein perfekter Nachweis für Phylenpriesterinnen. Tatsächlich findet sich jedoch keine einzige eindeutig weibliche Person darunter, das heißt präziser keinen geschlechtsspezifisch weiblichen Namen. Wie bereits im Zusammenhang mit Dok. 2 erläutert, gibt es in Soknopaiu Nesos eine Reihe von geschlechtsunspezifischen Personennamen, so daß die Bestimmung des Genus aufgrund der Filiationsangabe, eingeleitet mit dem Artikel τῆς „(Tochter) des“, von geschlechtsspezifischen Titeln oder der in griechischen Texten fallweise belegten Angabe θ[ή]λεια „weiblich“[50] erfolgen muß. Nach Auswertung der zur Verfügung stehenden Textquellen, auch aus anderen Ortschaften wie Abusir el-Melek, gibt es jedoch keinen Beweis, daß Frauen unter den Aufgelisteten sind. Otto war dieses besondere Phänomen offensichtlich nicht präsent, denn er stellt ohne weitere Anmerkung fest, daß nur männliche Mitglieder in den griechischen Phylenlisten genannt seien.[51] Da er jedoch von der Existenz von Phylenpriesterinnen überzeugt war, schloß er, daß es getrennte Listen für Männer und Frauen gab. Allerdings haben wir dafür auch 100 Jahre nach Erscheinen von Ottos Publikation keinen Beleg vorliegen. Dasselbe Bild ergibt sich aus den demotischen Phylen-Zählungen und Phylen-Namenlisten, die für den tempelinternen Gebrauch angefertigt wurden.[52] Anders als im Griechischen, wo die Einleitung der Filiation mittels τῆς ausfallen kann, ist sie im Demotischen obligatorisch und lautet je nach Region *sꜣ.t n* „Tochter des“ oder *ta* (Zuordungspräfix) „die des“. Insofern kann von den bislang verfügbaren Phylenaufzeichnungen zweifelsfrei gesagt werden, daß keine Frauen erwähnt sind.

Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit. PdÄ 1, Leiden-Köln, 1953, 302.

47 PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, 192; 280–281.

48 Pfeiffer schließt sogar, daß es sich bei diesen Frauen noch nicht einmal um „feste Priesterinnen“ handelt, da sie „wahrscheinlich“ nicht an der staatlichen Zuwendung für die Tempel (Syntaxis) partizipierten; andernfalls wäre die Schlußbestimmung des Dekretes überflüssig, da die Inhaberinnen eines regulären Priesterinnenamtes automatisch an den Einkünften teilhatten: PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, 192–193.

49 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 34–38; JÖRDENS, *P.Louvre I*, 45–49.

50 Siehe Dok. 5, das den geschlechtsunspezifischen Namen „Herieus“ mit dieser Genus-Angabe nennt. Bislang existiert keine umfassende Untersuchung zu Personennamen, die für beiderlei Geschlechter verwendet wurden. Der Eindruck, den man aus dem Material aus Soknopaiu Nesos gewinnt, wo diese besonders häufig zu sein scheinen, ist, daß es sich speziell um solche Namen handelt, die auf vergöttlichte Privatpersonen zurückgehen. Eine Studie dazu ist in Vorbereitung.

51 OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35.

52 *O.Dime* I 1, 3, 6, 11, 13, 16, 18, 24–35.

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Zusammenfassend läßt sich sagen, daß für die gesamte ptolemäisch-römische Zeit eine explizite und sichere Verbindung von Frauen mit der Phylenorganisation nur in zwei griechischen Texten bezeugt ist: in Dok. 1, pStraßburg VII 666 aus Neilupolis, 145 n. Chr., und in Dok. 3, BGU I 28, 183 n. Chr., aus Soknopaiu Nesos.

Wenn man nun nicht davon ausgehen möchte, daß weibliche Phylenpriester in separaten Listen geführt wurden, von denen bisher keine einzige bekannt ist, und daß die Überlieferungslücke im demotischen Material somit zufällig ist, bietet sich hierfür eine andere Erklärung an. Betrachtet man die beiden Belegtexte detaillierter, fällt auf, daß alle Beteiligten ihre Priestertitel inklusive der Phylenzugehörigkeit angeben. Dies ist für griechische Verwaltungs- und Rechtstexte nicht selbstverständlich; in Dokumenten, deren Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Archiven oder Dossiers[53] gesichert ist und in denen mehrmalig dieselben Personen belegt sind, werden diese mal mit, mal ohne oder auch mit unterschiedlichen Amts- oder Berufstiteln genannt.[54] In zweisprachigen Urkunden, die ein griechisches Darlehen mit einer demotischen Hausverkaufsurkunde als Sicherung kombinieren, sind im demotischen Teil Titel angegeben, während das griechischsprachige Darlehen Identifikationsmerkmale wie Alter der Person und besondere Kennzeichen angibt.[55] Es ist somit sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Angabe der priesterlichen Zugehörigkeit in dem Kontext, aus dem Dok. 1 und Dok. 3 stammen, als notwendig oder zumindest hilfreich empfunden wurde.

Zwei weitere Beobachtungen sind für die Interpretation relevant: Erstens, in demotischen Urkunden aus Soknopaiu Nesos, dem Ort, aus dem Dok. 3 stammt, werden Frauen nicht mit einer eigenen Titelbezeichnung versehen, sondern in der Filiationsangabe wird der priesterliche Ehrentitel des Vaters *nb wʿb ḥrj šj Wꜣḏ-wr n Nꜣ-nfr-štj.t* „Herr der Reinheit, Oberer des Sees ‚Großes Grünes von Nephersatis‘“ genannt.[56] Dieser ist als Identifizierungsmerkmal nicht wirklich signifikant, da sie bei der hohen Dichte an Priestern beinahe inflationär scheint, doch ist die Angabe des Status des Vaters offenbar als relevant erachtet worden. Zweitens, in Steuerlisten sind weibliche Individuen üblicherweise unter dem Beruf des Vaters oder des Ehemannes aufgeführt. In *P.Count* 4, einer demotischen, nach Haushalten sortierten Steuerliste beispielsweise ist eine Frau namens Tahenetisis, die den Titel *tꜣ gl-šr*, wörtlich „die Polizistin“ (Z. 175) trägt, belegt. Tatsächlich jedoch erweist sie sich, wie W. Clarysse und D. Thompson herausgearbeitet haben, als die Tochter eines Polizisten, die den Status ihres Vaters aufführt, um in den Genuß einer Steuerbegünstigung zu kommen.[57]

53 Zur Definition von Archiv vs. Dossier siehe DEPAUW, Mark, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. PapBrux 28, Brüssel, 1997, 153.

54 Exemplarisch seien die demotischen, griechischen und zweisprachigen Dokumente des Familien-Dossiers des Satabus genannt: SCHENTULEIT, *CdE* 82, 2007, 101–125 und *P.Dime* III 37.

55 Z. B. *P.Dime* III 7, 11, 27.

56 LIPPERT / SCHENTULEIT, *Urkunden*. DDD III, 111.

57 CLARYSSE, Willy / THOMPSON, Dorothy J., *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, Cambridge u.a., 2006, Vol. 2: *Historical Studies*, 201.

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Conclusio

Die Sichtbarmachung eines privilegierten Status über den Vater oder den Ehemann ist demnach eine nicht unübliche Praktik, die ich ebenfalls für die beiden diskutierten Dokumente ansetzen möchte. Das bedeutet, die Phylenzugehörigkeit betrifft *de facto* nicht die Frau, sondern den Vater[58], und diese Nennung muß einen konkreten Hintergrund haben. Aus zwei Belegen lassen sich schwerlich Gesetzmäßigkeiten ableiten, doch ist zumindest auffällig, daß es sowohl in der Geburtsanzeige (Dok. 3) als auch in der Anerkennung über gezahlten Unterhalt seitens des Vormundes und wohl Adoptivvaters. (Dok. 1) um die nächste Generation geht. Wir wissen aus vielen ägyptischen und griechischen Quellen, wie wichtig es für die Nachkommen der Priesterelite war, daß ihre priesterliche Herkunft dokumentiert wurde: Die priesterliche Abstammung stellt als soziale Ressource letztlich überhaupt die basale Voraussetzung für den Zugang zu einem Priesteramt dar: Das Zulassungsverfahren beginnt mit der Einreichung der Geburtsanzeige des Priesterkandidaten[59] und einer Zensusdeklaration[60], einer Meldung aller Mitglieder eines Haushaltes, wobei alle Bescheinigungen die priesterliche Abstammung von Vater und Mutter bestätigen mußten. Andere Privilegien wie die Steuerexemption oder der Zugang zu bestimmten ökonomischen Handlungsfeldern wie die bereits erwähnte Kamelzucht können ebenfalls an einen priesterlichen Status geknüpft sein. Während vor diesem Hintergrund in der Geburtsanzeige (Dok. 1) die Nennung der Milieuzugehörigkeit erwartbar ist, läßt sich für das Dokument über Unterhaltszahlung (Dok. 3) bislang nur spekulieren. Denkbar ist, daß hier aufgrund des Adoptivverhältnisses die priesterliche Abstammung mütterlicherseits zusätzlich belegt werden sollte.

Die Nennung des Titels „Phylenpriesterin“ in griechischen Texten kann somit schlüssig als Statuskennzeichnung und eben nicht als Berufsbezeichnung erklärt werden; diese Statusinformation wird in den demotischen Quellen aus Soknopaiu Nesos über die Filiationsangabe und den damit verbundenen priesterlichen Ehrentitel des Vaters gegeben. Es gibt insofern zwar eine formale, aber keine inhaltliche Diskrepanz zwischen den Quellen in den unterschiedlichen Sprachen. Dieses Beispiel macht ein weiteres Mal deutlich, welches Potential in der Zweisprachigkeit der Dokumentation liegt, vorausgesetzt, man macht sich die kulturgenuinen Unterschiede deutlich.

58 Während in Dok. 1 die Phylengruppe der Eheleute identisch ist (1. Phyle), divergiert sie in Dok. 3 (1. bzw. 5. Phyle), was bedeutet, daß die Frau nicht die Phylengruppe des Ehemannes adaptierte, was m.E. zeigt, daß für die Phylenzugehörigkeit die Abstammung der entscheidende Faktor ist.

59 *SPP* XXII 18, 149 n. Chr.; *SPP* XXII 37, 184 n. Chr.; *SPP* XXII 38, 155 n. Chr.; *SPP* XXII 100, 147/148 oder 170/171 n. Chr.

60 Z.B. *BGU* III 706, nach(?) 119 n. Chr.

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Private Loans and Social Key-Positions: Financial Networks of Egyptian Temple-Officials in Roman Soknopaiou Nesos*

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Under Roman rule, Egyptian temple-officials[1] belonged to a special status-group, which benefited from a number of privileges. For example, they were exempted from certain liturgies and, at least to an extent, from the poll-tax. In turn, they were also beholden to special legislation, which is documented for instance in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, and was in fact maintained from earlier periods.[2] In order to receive special treatment, they had to register themselves as ἱερεῖς, a procedure which became more complex over time, including proofs of descent, health and ability to read texts in Egyptian scripture in front of a Roman official. They further distinguished themselves from other members of society by their knowledge, their rules of behavior and their appearance (dressed in white linen and bearing shaved heads during their service), while temple economies flourished and offices brought considerable revenues. Hence it is plausible to see Egyptian temple-officials as members of a local elite in Imperial times.

Yet even as members of a religious elite group, priestly officials were embedded in a society where they had to meet expectations, defend their privileged position and deal with failure. Their status was not simply given, it was always earned anew through individual

* I express my gratitude to the organizers and participants of this conference for accepting and discussing my paper. As well, I am grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Andrea Jördens, for making my first contact with the organizers. As doctoral research assistant of the project *Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning 'Cults' and 'Polis Religion'* (LAR), supervised by Prof. Jörg Rüpke and funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Program (FP 7/2013, Nr. 295555), I am grateful to all my colleagues for discussing an early draft of this article and, of course, to the program for funding my expenses.

1 To take the *linguistic turn* seriously, I avoid modern terms like "priest", "Priester" or "prêtre", because they all have etymological roots in the Greek "elder" (πρεσβύτερος), while the Italian term "sacerdote" derived from the Latin "sacred" (*sacer*). Even if both terms are nowadays associated with ancient religious specialists such as Greek ἱερεῖς or Roman *sacerdotes*, they still neglect the unique concept of Egyptian cult-practitioners who were in their native language in general denoted as "pure" (*wꜥb*). In turn, the connotation of "temple-officials" emphasizes their occupation as representatives of such institutions. Since those who were officially registered for Egyptian temple-service were marked in Greek papyri as "ἱερεῖς", and are as such visible for scholars today, this term will be used synonymously on occasion. As the adjective "priestly" suggests resemblance, but no absolute conformity to the aforementioned concepts, it may come in as a synonym occasionally as well.

2 On the Egyptian documentation of priestly laws, cf. WESPI, Fabian, "Das Gesetz der Tempel: Ein Vorbericht zu den Priesternormen des demotischen Papyrus Florenz PSI inv. D 102", in M. Ullmann (ed.), *10. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Ägyptische Tempel zwischen Normierung und Individualität. München, 29.–31. August 2014*. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3, Wiesbaden, 2016, p. 179–194.

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and collective strategies of assertiveness, networking, resource-management and self-representation in changing economic, juristic, religious, and social contexts. In my dissertation, I seek to develop a more nuanced picture of the social role of Egyptian temple-officials. For this purpose I examine in both large- and small-scale studies concrete conditions and strategies of priestly officials to seize and defend key-positions within specific villages, but also the circumstances under which they lost their privileges. As an extract, this article investigates private liabilities of Egyptian temple-officials, because the capacity to lend money, or the need to borrow it, hints not only at the economic power and needs of specific persons, but also illuminates networks of private and business-relations, shining light on specific dependencies and key-positions in local communities.

Loans and investment strategies are established fields of research in Ancient History,[3] but most surveys restrict themselves to a bird's-eye view by focusing on the economic role of loans in general, whilst studies about specific groups or about the strategic use of liabilities in personal relationships are rare. The latest comprehensive study on loans in Roman Egypt, from 1993, concluded merely that priestly families borrowed money, for the most part, amongst themselves.[4] Bernhard Tenger relied for this hypothesis on 27 Greek papyri that originate primarily from the Fayum. His statement has since neither been challenged, nor developed further, despite new editions of bilingual loan-contracts which have significantly enlarged our knowledge of both the legal practice and contracting parties.[5] Hence this article aims to test Tenger's hypothesis in the light of new evidence, and seeks to advance the analysis of economic and social aspects of loan-arrangements.

The settlement of Soknopaiou Nesos serves as the test case, since it provides numerous Greek and Demotic loan-documents from the first two centuries of Roman rule. As a first

3 Selected studies on loan in Greek papyri: JÖRDENS, Andrea, "Kaufpreisstundungen (Sales on Credit)", *ZPE* 98, 1993, p. 263–282; TENGER, Bernhard, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, St. Katharinen, 1993; KÜHNERT, Hanno, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diocletian*, Freiburg, 1965; TAUBENSCHLAG, Raphael, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 2nd ed., Warsaw, 1955, p. 341–354. Research on the social and economic implications of credits and investment in ancient societies has intensified since the 1990s, see among others: VAN MINNEN, Peter, "Money and Credit in Roman Egypt", in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Monetary Systems of the Greeks and Romans*, Oxford, 2008, p. 226–241; ROWLANDSON, Jane, "Money Use among the Peasantry of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt", in A. Meadows / K. Shipton, *Money and its Uses in the Ancient Greek World*, Oxford, 2001, p. 145–155; KEHOE, Dennis P., *Investment, Profit, and Tenancy. The Jurists and the Agrarian Economy*, Ann Arbor, 1997; IDEM, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt During the Early Empire*, PTA 40, Bonn, 1992; RATHBONE, Dominic, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt*, Cambridge Classical Studies, Cambridge, 1991.

4 TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 171: "In der gleichen Weise wie Armeeangehörige häufig Personen des eigenen Standes als Schuldner bevorzugen, verleihen Priester bis auf wenige Ausnahmen ihr Kapital auch nur an Personen aus anderen Priesterfamilien."

5 LIPPERT, Sandra, "Demotic Loans with Mortgage in their Legal Context – from the Ptolemaic Period 'Kaufpfandurkunde' to the Roman Period Bilingual Loan with Mortgage", in S. Demare-Lafont (ed.), *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies VII. The Loan Contract in Ancient Societies*, forthcoming; LIPPERT, Sandra, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, EQÄ 5, Münster, 2nd ed., 2012, p. 99–105; 150–151; 160–161; MARKIEWICZ, Tomasz, "Security for Debt in the Demotic Papyri", *JJP* 35, 2005, p. 141–167.

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step, the general structure of financial networks in Soknopaiou Nesos will be traced by answering the questions of who dealt with whom and how we can know about it, thereby responding to Tenger's hypothesis. Once the identities of creditors and debtors are clear, the purposes of loans will be deduced by examining durations, amounts, and patterns of repayment. Subsequently the liabilities granted and demanded by temple-officials will be compared with loans of all other villagers, in order to estimate their social and economic significance in the regional context.

Who dealt with whom?

When it comes to the identification of temple-officials in loan-contracts, one may doubt the reliability of papyrological sources, because they are highly fragmentary and any reference to priestly titles depended, at least in Greek documents, first and foremost on the context: While priestly offices were frequently mentioned in connection to status-matters or other temple-affairs, for instance in census-declarations or petitions dealing with certain claims of a temple against other parties, in private documents it was up to the scribe whether he chose to distinguish someone with a priestly title or not. The number of texts mentioning ἱερεῖς outside any temple-relevant context rose steeply just after AD 120. The point in time suggests that this trend was prompted by a new procedure of state-monitored circumcision that required proof of unbroken lineage for the priestly offspring: thenceforth a new state-official, the ἀρχιερεύς, demanded a strict documentation of status-membership. Perhaps in response to this development, temple-officials sought to mention their status as often as possible in Greek documents in order to collect written evidence of their descent.[6] However, scribes were still not obligated to mention temple-offices in private documents, so the appearance of officials as ἱερεῖς or with more specific titles remains random even after AD 120. Even though Demotic documents deliver additional information about the identity of the contracting parties, to date only a few Demotic texts have been published. There may therefore be lots of temple-officials hiding in these documents incognito, simply because they are not identified as such. Nevertheless, the inclusion of ἱέρειαι into the record, and the examination of Demotic autographs will help to identify temple-officials in loan-contracts more reliable, as will be outlined in the following paragraphs.

Although it is not possible to identify temple-officials to a larger extent in papyri that lack respective terms or contexts, it should be possible to determine relations between office-holders and non-officials. To do so, the analysis will proceed on the premise that those texts mentioning ἱερεῖς are consistent. The assumption is that when a scribe revealed the priestly title of one contracting party, he had no reason to conceal the title of the other party. Necessarily, he will have marked the second party as "ἱερεύς" if indeed they were a registered temple-official. In consequence, Greek documents indicate, at least, whether a temple-official in a specific contract was dealing with a colleague or with a non-official. *P.Amh.* II 112, a receipt for repayment of a loan, supports this assumption: a temple-official from Soknopaiou Nesos acknowledged for his brother that he had received the money he had lent him one year earlier. The description of both parties is rather extensive: the

6 JÖRDENS, Andrea, "Priester, Prokuratoren und Präfekten. Die Tempelverwaltung im römischen Ägypten", *Chiron* 44, 2014, p. 136–137.

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creditor Pakysis, son of Stotoetis senior, grandson of Panephremmis, was ἱερεύς of the first division (φυλή) of the temple of Soknopaios, 41 years old and had a scar on his left arm. His brother Panephremmis, born to the same father and the same mother, was also 41 years old and had a scar on the little finger of his left hand.[7] Whilst the descriptions of both coincide in nearly every detail, Panephremmis is, however, not marked as a temple-official. This last detail is especially noteworthy, since the receipt was written in AD 128 and thus in a period when priestly offices were, as was discussed above, mentioned more often in Greek documents. If Panephremmis would have been a temple-official like his twin brother, the scribe had the option to mark either both brothers as "ἱερεῖς" in plural or to call Panephremmis a "συνιερεύς", just as it happened in another loan-contract from Soknopaiou Nesos dating to the year 208.[8] Thus Panephremmis was apparently not a registered priestly official. In the same way, it is possible to distinguish between priestly office-holders and non-officials in further documents.

A second clarification concerns the role of "priestesses" (ἱέρειαι), because several of them appear after AD 120 as contracting parties in Greek documents.[9] Maren Schentuleit points out that the term "ἱέρεια" was applied to female members of priestly families, e. g. wives and daughters, even though they did not in fact serve in the temple and were not obliged to register with the authorities.[10] Yet several sources illustrate that the financial activities and property affairs of women were at times deeply entangled with those of their male relatives. A well-documented example is the family-archive of Kronion, son of Cheos, from Tebtunis: Kronion himself and one of his sons were in the early second century shrine-bearers (παστόφοροι) of Soknebtunis,[11] two sons of Kronion were married to their sisters by the same father. On several occasions relatives acted together as guarantors for larger liabilities: Most remarkable is the fact that Kronion's daughters were the only family members who owned land, while their male relatives merely leased additional plots. Maybe they intended to avoid liturgies which were imposed on land-owning men. In consequence, the daughters appeared frequently as contracting parties whenever the family let out parts of the women's land on lease to receive money or goods in advance, or when their land served as security in loans, because they were the legal owners.[12] The entanglement of economic activities within the family is best documented in a contract in which Kronion sub-leased plots of his land and, at the same time, leased also plots of his daughter's land to another party. It seems like Kronion negotiated the deal on his own, but as the text breaks off at the

7 *P.Amh.* II 112, l. 6–10. This is one of the few papyrological attestations of twins, cf. BAGNALL, Roger S. / FRIER, Bruce W., *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 23, Cambridge, 1994, p. 43–44.

8 *SPP* XXII 41.

9 ἱέρειαι as contracting parties in loans, ordered chronologically: *SB* XXIV 16203; *SPP* XXII 36; *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* XI 2043; *BGU* I 86; *P.Amh.* II 113; *CPR* VI 3; *P.Münch.* III 97; *BGU* XIII 2343; *SPP* XXII 69.

10 Cf. SCHENTULEIT, Maren, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen zweisprachiger Textdokumentation am Beispiel des Titels ‚Phylenpriesterin'" in this volume, p. 151–162.

11 Trismegistos ArchID 125.

12 SMOLDERS, Ruben, "Kronion son of Cheos", in K. Vandorpe / W. Clarysse / H. Verreth (eds.) *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*, CollHell 6, Leuven, 2015, p. 225, fn. 12.

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bottom, it is still possible that his daughter explicitly agreed to the deal, or even ordered it.[13] Cases such as this prompt us to consider not only loans of male temple-officials, but also the liabilities of ἱέρειαι, as the economic activities of families cannot (and should not) be analytically separated from each other.

Another reliable, but rarely applicable, method of identifying temple-officials and further members of priestly families is to keep one's eyes open for Demotic autographs. In Roman times, ordinary people had neither the possibility, nor any incentive to learn Egyptian scripts; a person who was able to sign a contract in Demotic writing was certainly taught it either in the temple or by his priestly relatives. One bilingual loan-contract from Soknopaiou Nesos, *P.Vindob.Tand.* 24, fulfills this criterion: in AD 45, a woman named Tapiomis lent a sum of money to another Egyptian. Five years later, her son Stotoetis wrote a receipt of repayment in her stead in Demotic handwriting beneath the text. Although Tapiomis is not labeled "ἱέρεια", her son Stotoetis obviously belonged to a circle of temple-officials where he learned Demotic, and thus she must have been of priestly descent as well.[14] A Demotic signature is also preserved at the bottom of another Greek loan-contract dating to AD 116, indicating that the debtors were priestly officials.[15]

Keeping these thoughts in mind, it is now time to take a general inventory of sources: Loans from Roman Soknopaiou Nesos which were agreed by temple-officials, or certain members of priestly families, are mentioned in 40 texts. Yet since a couple of papyri belonged to one and the same transactions, the total number of loans considered here is 32, with the majority dating to the rule of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161). Due to differences in the state of conservation of sources, not all papyri contain comparable data. For instance, the names of both contracting parties are preserved in 30 cases, while single dates are recognizable in 27 loans, durations in 15 cases. Sums are documented in 29 agreements. These are indeed modest numbers, but it is by far the largest pool of information about loans of Egyptian temple-officials from a single village.[16] In this regard, it is worth mentioning that this study considers not only loans of money and goods as forms of liabilities, but also deposits, παραμονή-deals, payments in advance and similar agreements which are documented directly in contracts and receipts, or indirectly in petitions and wills as well.[17]

13 *P.Kron.* 10. In this specific point *pace* SMOLDERS, in Vandorpe / Clarysse / Verreth (eds.) *Graeco-Roman Archives*, CollHell 6, p. 225, fn. 12.

14 Sandra Lippert was so kind to make me aware of this detail.

15 *P.Ryl.* II 326 descr. = *SB* XVI 12954. In the upper Greek part, the debtors' names are lost, except for the initial letters of a name Πα- at the end of line 4, while line 5 makes it clear that the debtors were two persons and children of a certain Stothoetis. The Demotic part is highly fragmentary as well. I am grateful to Sandra Lippert for reading, translating and discussing the passage with me: The first line mentions two names: Apynchis and [Pa]pais. The next line contains fragments of a sentence: "[...] according to what is written [...]". Since this formula is known from other Demotic signatures in loan-contracts from Soknopaiou Nesos (see for example *P.Dime* III 5), it seems obvious that Apynchis and Papais signed the contract as debtors. The Demotic writing shows the influence of Hieratic, which makes it highly likely that the writer received a kind of priestly education.

16 While the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri <http://www.papyri.info> lists more than 1000 papyri concerning loans in the Roman period, less than 50 of these documents explicitly mention ἱερεῖς.

17 Besides the documents with preserved loan sums dating earlier than 168 AD listed on p. 174, the

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Observing the sources, it turns out that Nesiotic temple-officials acted as creditors as often (20 times)[18] as they appeared as debtors (20 times).[19] Yet little more than a quarter (8 or 27%) of all loans which mention both parties (30) have been concluded exclusively between temple-officials,[20] whereas in 14 loans (or 47%) only one party bore a priestly title and/or was able to write Demotic.[21] That means that officials of the Soknopaios-temple borrowed/loaned money not primarily from/to colleagues, but maintained also relations with other villagers. However, in the remaining 8 loans (or 27%), the status of the second party is uncertain or not at all preserved due to gaps in the text.[22]

Kinship between contracting parties is attested in only three cases.[23] Yet it is impossible to illuminate familial networks to a larger extent because the identification of most parties remains unknown or at least uncertain. However, it is striking that the vast majority of creditors and debtors, in the sources considered here, bore names which were exclusively common among officials of the temple of Soknopaios: names such as Apynchis, Herieus, Panephremmis, Pakysis, Satabous or Stotoetis appeared in loan-contracts just as frequently as in other texts concerning members of the Nesiotic temple-staff.[24] Keeping in mind the tradition of papponymy in Egyptian families, this situation leaves room for speculation whether priestly families indeed dominated the local credit-market, at least in Soknopaiou Nesos. Yet this is no confirmation for Tenger's hypothesis in general, because the prosopography of other settlements is much less uniform than at Soknopaiou Nesos and familial structures can therefore not easily be determined elsewhere.

Greek or Roman names are attested in four loans. In each case the contracting parties were members of a privileged status-group: two of them, a debtor named Apollonios and, in another case, a creditor named Doras alias Ninnos, lived in the Bithynian quarter of the nome capital Arsinoë, and hence certainly belonged to the metropolitan class. Perhaps Doras was also a member of the so-called "6475 Greek settlers".[25] Another creditor named Pharion, son of Didas, might have been part of the same privileged social stratum, given his

following texts relating to credits have also been examined: *P.Dime* III 10 (AD 27); *BGU* I 36, copy: *BGU* II 436 (early II[nd] cent.); *SB* XVI 12954 (AD 116); *PSI* XIII 1324 = *SB* VI 9369 (AD 173); *SPP* XXII 69 (AD 186/7); *SPP* XXII 41 (AD 208).

18 Evidence ordered chronologically: *CPR* XV 8; *P.Dime* III 10; 19; 22; *P.Vind.Tand.* 24; *P.Dime* III 23; 31; *BGU* I 36; *P.Amh.* II 112; *SPP* XXII 36; *P.Lond.* II 308 (p. 218); *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* XI 2043; *P.Amh.* II 113; *BGU* I 86; *SB* X 10294; *P.Münch.* III 97; *PSI* XIII 1324 = *SB* VI 9369; *SPP* XXII 69; *SPP* XXII 41.

19 *CPR* XV 8; *P.Dime* III 19; 27; SB XVI 12954; *SB* XXIV 16203; *P.Ryl.* II 174a; *P.Louvre* I 18; *SPP* XXII 36; *P.Prag.* I 31; *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* XI 2043; I 290; *P.Amh.* II 113; *P.Prag.* I 32; *CPR* VI 3; *P.Münch.* III 97; *P.Lond.* II 336 (p. 221); *BGU* XIII 2343; *SPP* XXII 41.

20 *CPR* XV 8; *P.Dime* III 19; *SPP* XXII 36; *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* XI 2043; *P.Amh.* II 113; *P.Münch.* III 97; *SPP* XXII 41.

21 *P.Dime* III 10; 22; 23; 27; 31; *P.Amh.* II 112; *P.Ryl.* II 174a; *P.Louvre* I 18; *P.Lond.* II 308 (p. 218); *BGU* I 290; *P.Prag.* I 32; *P.Lond.* II 336 (S. 221); *BGU* XIII 2343; *PSI* XIII 1324.

22 *BGU* I 36; *SB* XVI 19254; XXIV 16203; *P.Prag.* I 31; *BGU* I 86; *SB* X 10294; *CPR* VI 3; *SPP* XXII 69.

23 Relatives borrowed money amongst each other in *P.Amh.* II 112; *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* XI 2043.

24 A chapter of my dissertation will study the specific distribution of names of Egyptian temple-officials in Roman Bakchias, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Tebtunis more closely.

25 Apollonios: *P.Lond.* II 308 (p. 218). Doras: *P.Louvre* I 18. For Doras's identification cf. JÖRDENS, Andrea, *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P.Louvre I)*, PTA 43, Bonn, 1998, 116.

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Greek name and since he paid his loan through a bank located in another quarter of the nome capital.[26] The fourth creditor was a soldier bearing a Roman name: in AD 168 the Nesiotic ἱέρεια Stotoetis (the name was borne by people of both genders) transferred 1400 drachmae to the account of the legionary Gaius Julius Ammonios; her brother acted as κύριος and was denoted as ἱερεύς of the temple of Soknopaios.[27] Soldiers granting large loans to villagers are attested in a couple of papyri, because since Domitian (AD 81-96) they were forbidden to keep more than 1000 drachmae within their camp and up until the middle of the second century they were not yet allowed to buy land during their time of service.[28] Therefore, even if it is not mentioned explicitly, it is highly likely that Stotoetis was repaying a loan granted by Ammonios. The fact that the soldier had chosen a priestly family to deposit such a rather large sum may indicate that he considered them more capable and trustworthy than other villagers to fulfill their obligations. This may underline that temple-officials of Soknopaiou Nesos were considered trustworthy by outsiders as well. Anyway, the connections of Nesiotic temple-officials to members of other privileged status-groups show that their networks reached out way beyond familial and village borders.

Patterns and Purposes

To deduce patterns and purposes of credit-affairs, the first step is to determine whether loans cluster in specific time-frames, because in agricultural economies, some types of trade were dependent on specific seasons: especially farmers sold their harvest in advance in order to receive money in coin which was required to pay taxes as well as buy tools or other goods, whereas other peasants borrowed corn as additional seed.[29] The sowing of wheat, the most important cereal, was to begin at the end of the flood-season, at the end of December, and was harvested in April, then processed (e. g. threshed) for usage and sale. In the Fayum, these patterns are illustrated by a striking number of sales in advance, in which the delivery of wheat was determined for Payni (May-June) or Epeiph (June-July). Accordingly other sorts of corn, fruits, and vegetables were dependent on different time-frames.[30] Hence, for example, an increased number of loans starting in December and ending in May to July, would point to a specific link between loans and wheat-production.

However, the available data gives no clue to suggest any specific links between loans and agricultural activities in Soknopaiou Nesos, neither in general nor regarding temple-officials. Although two loans were repaid in the month of Payni and could be linked to the cultivation of wheat,[31] the majority of loans with known dates are scattered throughout the year. As in nearly half (12 or 44%) of 27 cases just one date is known, either start or

26 *P.Lond.* II 336 (p. 221).

27 *BGU* XIII 2343.

28 TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 162–166.

29 JÖRDENS, Andrea, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten (P. Heid. 5)*, VHPS NS. 6, Heidelberg, 1990, p. 332–341; TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 239.

30 For a short overview of dates of delivery for several sorts of corn, fruits and vegetables: JÖRDENS, *Vertragliche Regelungen*, VHPS NS. 6, p. 316–317.

31 *P.Lond.* II 308 (p. 218); *P.Ryl.* II 174a.

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termination, it is not clear whether the loans corresponded from the beginning to the end to agricultural rhythms. As arable land near the settlement of Soknopaiou Nesos was scarce and the population was, accordingly, rather seldom active in farming,[32] one may expect that even those loans that match agricultural rhythms belonged actually to other contexts.

As a second step, the sums paid and the patterns of repayment will be examined, as they offer further hints to explain the need for additional money or goods. Since the interest-rate of monetary loans in Roman Egypt generally amounted to 12% per year,[33] one would expect that humble persons avoided unnecessarily large sums (which incurred larger interest) and repaid them as soon as possible. Nevertheless, families applied different strategies to borrow larger sums anyway, for instance by splitting the loan among several persons or by offering their manpower in παραμονή-agreements, as the examples of Harthotes, son of Marres, from Theadelphia and Kronion, son of Cheos, from Tebtunis show (see below). Yet statistical analysis shows that the overwhelming majority of loans in Roman Egypt, that means, primarily evidence which stems from Fayumic villages in the first and second century, involved sums below 150 drachmae.[34] One can therefore assume that, in rural contexts, liabilities with sums of more than 150 drachmae are less likely to be a symptom of ordinary financial troubles or an indication of small scale agricultural investment, but relate rather to financially more demanding and exceptional businesses.

Yet of all 32 loans, 3 cases which date from AD 173 to AD 208 will not be taken into account in the following considerations for reasons concerning the currency-exchange-rate: wages in Egypt rose at a more or less constant rate during the first two hundred years of Roman rule, while the number of loans and the amounts of agreed sums increased equally slowly but steadily, reaching their peak in the times of Antoninus Pius.[35] Both wages and credit-sums followed the general inflation-rate of this time. However, during the rule of Marcus Aurelius a significant debasement of silver coins began and persisted until the third century, due to increasing wars at the borders and the outbreak of the Antonine Plague within the Roman Empire.[36] In contrast to the former documentation, loans of the early third century once more show decreasing sums, but also shorter durations and a more frequent use of informal types of credit.[37] Unfortunately, a sharp decrease of the papyrological documentation obfuscates any shifts after the late AD 160's. A coherent framework that permits diachronic comparisons is therefore given only for loans concluded during the first two centuries of Roman rule up to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. A

32 JÖRDENS, Andrea, "Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiu Nesos", in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 53.

33 LIPPERT, *Rechtsgeschichte*, EQÄ 5, p. 100.

34 TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 233–235.

35 For the rise of loans cf. TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 262–264; For the rise of wages cf. DREXHAGE, Hans-Joachim, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians*, St. Katharinen, 1991, p. 404–405.

36 BRANSBOURG, Gilles, "The later Roman Empire", in A. Monson / W. Scheidel (eds.), *Fiscal Regimes and the Political Economy of Premodern States*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 260. An earlier inflation broke out after the fire and rebuilding of Rome during the reign of Nero, but no loan of this period is preserved in Soknopaiou Nesos, so it does not matter in this consideration; cf. SCHEIDEL, Walter, "The early Roman monarchy", in Monson / Scheidel (eds.), *Fiscal Regimes*, p. 247.

37 TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 262–263.

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distinctive line will be drawn after the year AD 168, when the long but ultimately victorious war against the Parthians came to an end, whilst the outburst of new assaults in the northern provinces and the spread of the great Plague brought new troubles to the Imperial currency system. In consequence, sums of loans can only be compared with each other between the reign of Augustus up to the early years of Marcus Aurelius, while later credit-sums were influenced by complicating parameters.

Turning to the amounts of money involved, all in all three quarters (20 or 77%) of the 26 loans with known sums up to AD 168 exceed the amount of 150 drachmae, ranging mostly from 200 to 500 drachmae (see Table 1, p. 174). So most liabilities amounted to rather high sums. There is no direct connection between the amount of money and the time until repayment: larger and smaller loans were agreed for various times. Yet looking at all 29 loans between AD 12 and AD 168, with and without known sums, the majority of 10 loans (34%) were repaid, or were at least determined to be repaid, rather quickly within several weeks or months up until one year.[38] Merely 3 loans (10%) were fixed at a moderate duration of about 16 months up to 5 years,[39] while 3 liabilities (10%) lasted for exceptionally long periods of 11 to 24 years until repayment. The large time-spans in the latter cases can be explained by special circumstances: the contracting parties were either close relatives, or one of them had died earlier and the debts were repaid by or to the descendants later.[40] Unfortunately, the actual or agreed duration of 13 loans (45%) remains unknown.[41] But even if it is not possible to determine the duration of nearly half of all loans, it is possible to examine the actual rate of repayment of most papyri: 19 of 29 loans (66%) were certainly paid back,[42] again without any specific correlations to loans under or over 150 drachmae. The repayment is attested by receipts, crossed-out texts or remarks. In bilingual loans, a further indication of fulfillment is the unity of the loan and complementary sale-contract about certain securities, since the latter was cut off from the papyrus and came into effect when the debtor had not repaid his liabilities.[43] Two debtors refused to repay their debts, as the creditors complained in petitions: one loan amounted to 325 drachmae, while the other sum is not preserved; in the latter case, the creditor was beaten by his debtors when he demanded his money back.[44] Yet in 8 cases (28%) it is unknown whether the lenders ever received their money back.[45] In sum, therefore, temple-officials from Soknopaiou Nesos frequently dealt with large amounts of money and were mostly able to repay their debts, or received loans back, quickly and punctually.

38 *P.Dime* III 7; 19; 23; 27; 31; SB XVI 12954; *P.Amh.* II 112; *P.Louvre* I 18; *P.Lond.* II 308 (p. 218); *P.Lond.* II 336 (p. 221).

39 *P.Dime* III 22; *P.Vind.Tand.* 24; *SPP* XXII 36.

40 *P.Ryl.* II 174a; *BGU* XI 2043; *P.Amh.* II 113.

41 *CPR* XV 8; *P.Dime* III 10; *BGU* I 36; *SB* XXIV 16203; *P.Prag.* I 31; *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* I 290; *BGU* I 86; *SB* X 10294; *P.Prag.* I 32; *CPR* VI 3; *P.Münch.* III 97; *BGU* XIII 2343.

42 *P.Dime* III 7; 10; 19; 22; 23; 27; 31; SB XVI 12954; *P.Amh.* II 112; *SB* XXIV 16203; *P.Ryl.* II 174a; *P.Louvre* I 18; *P.Prag.* I 31; *BGU* XI 2043; *P.Amh.* II 113; *P.Prag.* I 32; *CPR* VI 3; *BGU* XIII 2343.

43 LIPPERT, in Demare-Lafont (ed.), *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies* VII, forthcoming.

44 *CPR* XV 8; *BGU* I 36.

45 *SPP* XXII 36; *P.Lond.* II 308 (p. 218); *P.Louvre* I 17; *BGU* I 290; *BGU* I 86; *SB* X 10294; *P.Münch.* III 97; *P.Lond.* II 336 (p. 221).

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The large proportion of short-term or moderately long-lasting loans with large sums of money indicates that these had a specific purpose: It is known that Soknopaiou Nesos was situated on a caravan route, and that the villagers traded and bred camels. Since, in second-century Fayum, a camel was worth about 500 drachmae[46] and traders with more or less precious commodities entered Soknopaiou Nesos regularly,[47] the need of large amounts of cash might arise at short order, for instance to purchase certain animals and goods or to start their own transport enterprise. Thus temple-officials who borrowed money could have been active in the local business of trade and animal-breeding, or they lent money to partners involved in such affairs.

Evidence for a direct link between large loans, short durations and camel breeding in Soknopaiou Nesos is offered by *P.Louvre* I 18. On the 10th September 141, Doras alias Ninnos, son of Doras, who was mentioned before as an inhabitant of Arsinoë, lent 524 drachmae to a group of four Egyptian villagers: Apynchis, Pammenes, Pekysis, and Satabous. Two of these debtors, Apynchis and Pekysis, can be identified with πρεσβύτεροι ἱερέων of the temple of Soknopaios by means of their corresponding names, ages and physical characteristics in other sources.[48] The deal was determined for an exceptionally short duration, as the debtors agreed to pay the 524 drachmae back within 17 days – one of the shortest loans ever documented. As the text is crossed out, it seems that the group of four villagers managed the repayment in time. Just four months later, another contract was written on the verso of the same papyrus, concerning the sale of a camel worth 600 drachmae. The man who sold the camel did not belong to the four debtors: it was Panephremmis, son of Horos, grandson of Stotoetis, probably an important camel-trader who is known from other documents.[49] Since one of the four former debtors, the priestly elder Pekysis, was further identified in the overleaf loan-contract as “son of Panephremmis, grandson of Horos”, Andrea Jördens suggests that the camel-trader Panephremmis, son of Horos, grandson of Stotoetis may have been Pekysis’s father who reused the blank verso of his son’s loan-contract for his own purpose.[50] If he was indeed the father of a temple-elder, Panephremmis, the busy camel-trader, must have been a temple-official himself. Given the similar sums of money in the loan (524 drachmae) and sale (600 drachmae) contracts, and considering the probable familial link of at least one of those debtors (Pekysis) to a local owner of camels (Panephremmis), it is imaginable that they intended to buy a camel with their credit as well. In any case, the text on the recto highlights how a group of villagers cooperated with each other, but also with a member of the metropolitan class in order to exchange large sums in short time, whereas the text on the verso highlights that Nesiotic temple-officials were involved in local camel-trade, which occasionally required relatively large amounts of money.

46 JÖRDENS, Andrea, “Sozialstrukturen im Arbeitstierhandel des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten”, *Tyche* 10, 1995, p. 68.

47 RUFFING, Kai, “Kult, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten. Das Beispiel Soknopaiu Nesos”, in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie*, IBAES 7, London 2007, p. 98; 105; 108–122.

48 JÖRDENS, *P.Louvre I*, PTA 43, p. 116–117.

49 *P.Louvre* I 12, l. 1.

50 JÖRDENS, *P.Louvre I*, PTA 43, p. 87–88; 116–117.

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Shared enterprises between local and external partners were quite common in the camel-trade: several wealthy Alexandrians and metropolitans bought camels in Soknopaiou Nesos in order to use them for transport in long-distance-trading.[51] The expensive and demanding task of breeding and keeping the animals was nevertheless left to the villagers. As the taming required a lot of skill and the animals needed enough space to rest, only wealthy individuals could afford to enter the camel trade.[52] Temple-officials were certainly best suited here, since they were partly exempted from the poll-tax, and they received, depending on their office, a substantial income, while in most cases serving in the temple only a couple of months a year. So some of them surely had enough money and time to dedicate to the breeding of camels. Indeed, at least a dozen Nesiotic ἱερεῖς and close relatives are explicitly attested as breeders and traders of camels.[53] One of the most prominent examples is the family of Tauetis, ἱέρεια from Soknopaiou Nesos. At the age of 12 she inherited five animals from her father and sold them to her cousins 9 years later. Given the complex demands of husbandry, a young girl like her obviously owned these five camels just *pro forma*. Another 20 years later, Tauetis, her mother, and two sisters shared the ownership of a camel which they bought from her brother. This suggests that the breeding of camels was a family business, not least because further relatives of her are also known as camel-breeders.[54]

One may assume that camel-owners were generally well-off, though occasionally in need of emergency capital. Conversely, they could have been capable of lending larger amounts of money, as the sale of animals and the cooperation with urban elites gave them some financial latitude. Although it is not clear to what precise extent temple-officials contributed to the business of trade and camel-breeding at Soknopaiou Nesos, the characteristics of their loans reveal another aspect that suggests that their impact in this field was quite substantial.

Social and Economic Key-Positions

One way of determining the importance of temple-officials for the local economy is to compare them with all other inhabitants, especially concerning their financial capability. Hence the following Table 1 lists the sums of loans in which ἱερεῖς from Soknopaiou Nesos participated next to loans of all other inhabitants: altogether 26 contracts mention 27 sums of liabilities involving Nesiotic temple-officials, ranging from AD 12 to AD 168. The other group contains 23 transactions with mentioned sums, ranging from AD 7 to AD 166.[55]

51 JÖRDENS, *Tyche* 10, 1995, p. 72–75; p. 78–79.

52 JÖRDENS, *Tyche* 10, 1995, p. 64–65.

53 Besides the family of Tauetis, daughter of Harpagathes, which included several owners of camels and will be discussed hereafter, camels also belonged to the ἱερεύς Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis: *BGU* I 353; 354; to the ἱερεύς Stotoetis, son of Anchophis: *P.Prag.* I 21 and to Stotoetis, brother of another ἱερεύς: *SPP* XXII 90. The owners Tesenuphis and Harpagathes were both ἱερεῖς: *P.Lond.* II 363 (p. 170).

54 JÖRDENS, *Tyche* 10, 1995, p. 67–71.

55 Disregarded here are *SB* I 5244 (8 BC), *P.Dime* III 8 (AD 23) and *P.Amh.* II 110 (AD 75) without sums.

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year (AD)	Loans involving temple-officials	Loans of all other inhabitants
7		*BGU* I 174+189 (72 dr.) *SB* I 5243 (100 dr.)
12	*CPR* XV 8 + 9 + 10 + 10a + 11 (325 dr.)	
18	*P.Dime* III 7 (84 dr.)	
23		*P.Lond.* II 277 (S. 217) (64 dr.)
26		*PSI* IX 1051 (544 dr.)
32		*P.Ryl.* II 160c, col. II (250 dr.)
42	*P.Dime* III 19 (34 dr.)	*BGU* III 713 (50 dr.)
45	*P.Dime* III 22 (171 dr.) *P.Vind.Tand.* 24 (1400 dr.)[a]	
47	*P.Dime* III 23 (84 dr.)	
41–54		*P.Louvre* I 16 (40 dr.)
54	*P.Dime* III 27 (260 dr.)	
70	*P.Dime* III 31 (100 dr.)	
81–96		*BGU* I 190 (60 dr.)
89		*BGU* XIII 2330 (60 dr. + X art. wheat)
91		*BGU* XIII 2331 (100 dr. + 52 art. wheat)
105		*BGU* XI 2042 (200 dr.)
109–112		*SB* XVI 12611 (400 dr.)
117–138		*P.Bas.* 7 (2100 dr.)
123		*SB* XVI 12610 (300 dr. + a half κάδος of radish oil)
128	*P.Amh.* II 112 (430 dr.)	
138	*SB* XXIV 16203 (660 dr.)	
139	*P.Ryl.* II 174a (168 dr.)	
141	*P.Louvre* I 18 (524 dr.)	*P.Gen.* I (2e éd.) 8 (432 dr.)
145	*SPP* XXII 36 (500 dr.) *P.Lond.* II 308 (S. 218) (200 dr. + 15 art. wheat)	
147–155		*P.Strasb.* V 383 (350 dr.)
148	*P.Prag.* I 31 (868 dr.)	
149		*CPR* I 15 (240 dr.) *SPP* XXII 53 (420 dr.) *P.Lond.* II 311 (S. 219) (1200 dr.)
150	*BGU* XI 2043 + *SPP* XXII 43 + *SPP* XXII 45 + *P.Lond.* II 360 (p. 216) (840 dr.) *BGU* I 290 (84 dr. + X art. wheat)	
154	*BGU* I 86 (2500 dr.)	
157	*SB* X 10294 (2000 dr.) *P.Amh.* II 113 (100 dr. + 356 dr.)[b] *P.Prag.* I 32 (420 dr. + 16 art. wheat)	
159	*CPR* VI 3 (200 dr. + 4 art. wheat)	
163		*CPR* I 16 (148 dr.)
166		*CPR* I 14 (360 dr.)
161–180	*P.Münch.* III 97 (100(?) dr.)	
167	*P.Lond.* II 336 (S. 221) (400 dr.)	
168	*BGU* XIII 2343 (1400 dr.)	
IInd cent.	*P.Louvre* I 17 (300 dr.)	*P.Strasb.* V 344 (84 dr.) *SPP* XXII 82 (40 dr.)

Table 1: All loans of inhabitants of Roman Soknopaiou Nesos that mention sums, up to AD 168

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Notes to Table 1:

a) Recently Sandra Lippert deciphered the once unrecognized sum mentioned in the Demotic receipt of *P.Vind.Tand.* 24 as “70 deben”, which converts to 1400 drachmae (cf. LIPPERT, in Demare-Lafont (ed.), *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies* VII, forthcoming).

b) *P.Amh.* II 113 is a receipt of repayment of two separate loans: The ἱέρεια Herieus repaid debts of her deceased mother and brother to the lender, the ἱερεύς Stotoetis. As all borrowers belonged to the same family and Herieus repaid the sum at once, and also for simplification of the calculation, it will be treated here as one single loan.

Several issues complicate the comparison of both groups. First and foremost, digits and numbers are always difficult to read and *errare humanum est*. Furthermore loans in kind are not properly integrable because of our poor knowledge of daily changing prices.[56] Last but not least, it is conspicuous that 16 of the 23 loans that do not mention any priestly titles nevertheless contain many typical names of Nesiotic temple-officials: Apynchis,[57] Herieus,[58] Pabous,[59] Panephremmis,[60] Pakysis,[61] Satabous[62] and Stotoetis[63]. As these papyri are Greek documents that date before the implementation of state-monitored circumcision in about AD 120, they stem from a time in which priestly status was less frequently denoted than in later years. The second group might thus contain some temple-officials incognito which distort the calculation. For example, the creditor from *P.Louvre* I 16 may be identical with the priestly official from *P.Dime* III 23,[64] while the lender in *PSI* IX 1051 from AD 26, Apynchis senior, son of Stotoetis junior, may have been the older brother of the temple-official Apynchis junior, son of Stotoetis junior, who appeared in AD 27 as creditor in *P.Dime* III 10. The Demotic text of *P.Dime* III 11 suggests, however, that these parties indeed held no priestly office, although they bear typical priestly names. That said, the dubious cases do not change the result of the calculation, as they range for the most part between lower sums of 40 drachmae up to 360 drachmae.

The sums indicate a specific demarcation: loans which involved temple-officials exceeded the amount of 150 drachmae about a fifth more often (19 or 73% of 26 loans) than their reference group (12 or 52% of 23 loans). The higher the sums rise, the more sharply do the groups differ from each other: in the end 7 loans, in which Nesiotic temple-officials were involved, exceeded 600 drachmae, whereas merely two loans in the reference group exceeded this amount. For illustration purposes only, the following chart shall picture the distribution of sums in loans involving temple-officials compared to sums in loans of all other inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos. Of course, the evidence is too thin to produce a reliable quantitative analysis, but a short glimpse at the average sums underlines previous

56 On daily altering prices of grain and the problem of calculation cf. DREXHAGE, *Preise*, p. 18; 442.
57 *PSI* IX 1051.
58 *BGU* XIII 2330.
59 *CPR* I 14; 16.
60 *P.Strasb.* V 344.
61 *BGU* XIII 2331; *P.Bas.* 7; *SB* XVI 12611.
62 *BGU* I 174+189.
63 *BGU* I 44+II 415; *BGU* I 190; *BGU* III 713; *P.Lond.* II 277 (p. 217); 311 (p. 219); *P.Louvre* I 16; *P.Strasb.* V 383.
64 JÖRDENS, *P.Louvre I*, PTA 43, p. 108.

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observations: Nesiotic temple-officials dealt on average with 504 drachmae in each loan. All other villagers by contrast dealt on average with 331 drachmae. Even though the latter figure is more than twice the 150 drachmae that have emerged as the upper limit of the most common loans across Roman Egypt overall, it is also still notably less than the average loan involving Nesiotic temple-officials.

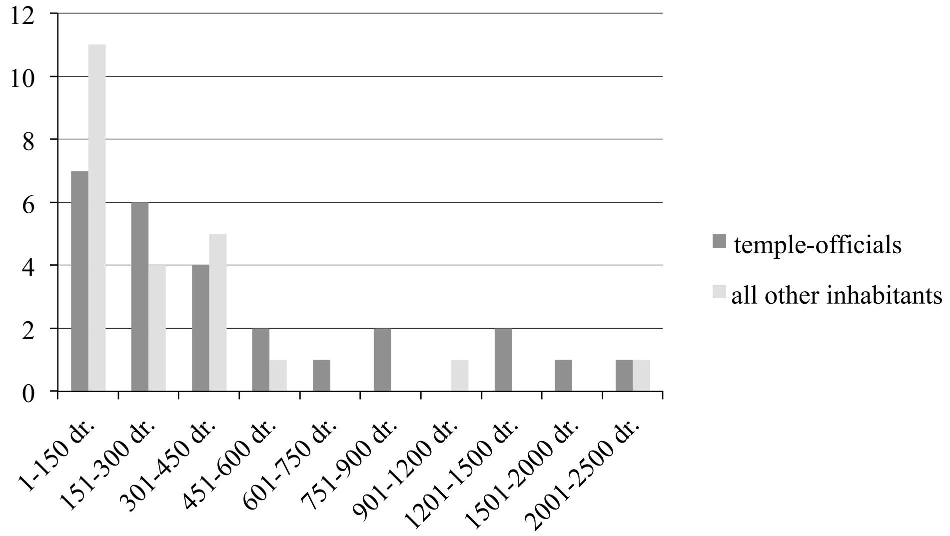


Fig. 1: Distribution of sums in loans involving temple-officials compared to loans of all other inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos

Among all other inhabitants there is a, also proportionally, higher number of Greek and Roman names (8 times or 14% of 58 persons in 27 loans, including contracts that do not contain sums)[65] in comparison to the group mentioning temple-officials (4 times or round about 7% of 60 mentioned persons in 31 loans). Yet there is no connection between the occurrence of such names and specific amounts of money, because all in all 2 of 3 relatively high loans which surpass 500 drachmae were negotiated between persons bearing only Egyptian names, whilst only one (though the largest) loan was negotiated with a person bearing a Greek name. Conspicuously, the Egyptians in all three cases bore names typical of priestly families from Soknopaiou Nesos.[66]

As temporary transfers of money or goods, loans indicate first and foremost the current wealth and need of both contracting parties. Apart from this aspect, liabilities also document social relations and dependencies, because the choice of business-partners was

65 *SB* I 5243: Ptolemaios(?); *BGU* I 44+215: Dionysios; *SB* XVI 12611: Tattion(?), daughter of Saturnios; *SB* XVI 12610: Demetrios, son of Alkimos, and Zoilos, son of Ouetis; *CPR* I 15: Gaius Julius Serenus; *CPR* I 16 and *CPR* I 14: Didymos, son of Didymos; *SPP* XXII 82: Didymos.

66 *PSI* IX 1051: Apynchis senior; N.N. and his wife Thenapynchis, daughter of Satabous; *P.Dime* III 11: Papais and Thases; *P.Lond.* II 311 (p. 219): Herakleia; Thaesis with her sons Horos and Stotoetis.

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never random, but a conscious act, a result of prior considerations and existing circumstances. In other words, to borrow money, one had to know where to find capable persons to ask for the requested amount, while creditors had to trust their partners and *vice versa*. Therefore, loans served, on another level, to strengthen social ties between creditors and debtors, and may have been part of larger networking strategies. Two examples shall illustrate this aspect: the family-archive of Harthotes, son of Marres, from Theadelphia, and the archive of the aforementioned Kronion, son of Cheos, from Tebtunis.

Harthotes served in Augustan times as ἱερεύς in Theadelphia.[67] In AD 7 Harthotes signed a παραμονή with a certain Theon who worked as oil-miller on an Imperial estate near the neighboring village of Philagris. Harthotes's 6-year-old daughter, Tahaunes, was obliged to work in Theon's oil-mill for two years; a follow-on contract for 80 drachmae extended her duty by two more years. Plenty of petitions show how often such deals went wrong, because creditors abused their power to extort more than agreed from their debtors. Giving his child to someone else as a worker, especially when the little girl had to move to another settlement, required a lot of trust from Harthotes. At the same time, the contract extension and the favorable terms of the second term of service hint at a good relation between both: Harthotes received 80 drachmae which he was not obliged to pay back, making the agreement akin to a wage-payment in advance. Additionally Theon cared for Tahaunes's food, clothing, and accommodation. While Tahaunes stayed with Theon and worked for him, she had the possibility to gain trust and strengthen personal relations.[68] Of course, a more pessimistic perspective could paint Harthotes as an ignorant father who left his daughter to a complete stranger. The favorable terms of the second contract could, then, be some sort of compensation for the sufferings Tahaunes endured. The truth may be somewhere in between both extremes. In both version, however, Harthotes benefited from this agreement not only economically, but also socially.

One century later in Tebtunis, Kronion, son of Cheos, and his family arranged several loans with metropolitan families. Whilst these liabilities entangled Kronion and his relatives in a web of financial dependencies, they received social connections and securities in return: thanks to loans and leases, the family was not just able to survive economically, but also kept in touch with several well-off members of the metropolitan class. In consequence, they were not dependent on the goodwill of one single business-partner, but had multiple options at hand to implement their own economic strategies, thanks also to their credit-deals.[69]

As certain temple-officials handled the largest loans by far in Soknopaiou Nesos, they were, compared to all other villagers, the most capable local creditors, but also the most demanding local debtors. The examples of Harthotes from Theadelphia and Kronion from Tebtunis and their families illustrate that both positions offered the prospect, beyond

67 For a very recent and detailed overview of Harthotes's archive, including the edition of four new fragments, cf. CLAYTOR, Graham W. / LITINIAS, Nikos / NABNEY, Elizabeth, "Labor Contracts from the Harthotes Archive", *JJP* 53, 2016, p. 79–119. Cf. also Trismegistos ArchID 99.

68 More extensively on this aspect CLAYTOR / LITINIAS / NABNEY, *JJP* 53, 2016, p. 88–93. On the παραμονή, which was a mixture between loan- and labour-contract, cf. TENGER, *Verschuldung*, Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 3, p. 90–95.

69 KEHOE, *Management and Investment*, PTA 40, p. 154–157.

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financial matters, of establishing social networks between the contracting parties which at times paid off in extended opportunities for action: creditors contributed to the economic survival and success of their debtors' businesses, whereas the latter had the possibility to prove themselves as reliable partners and gain access to wealthy circles of society. The broader the financial scope of certain temple-officials to borrow and lend money, the larger their latitude to spin social networks and to occupy key-positions within the local economy.

Conclusion

Bernhard Tenger's hypothesis that priestly families of Roman Egypt predominantly negotiated loans amongst each other is not demonstrable, because Greek papyri deliver scarce information for familial identification, while Demotic or bilingual documents, which would provide some of the required data, are not yet edited in large numbers. The only distinction can be drawn between temple-officials which were marked as registered ἱερεῖς, or show knowledge of Egyptian script on the one side, and (alleged) non-officials on the other side. As the economic actions of families were deeply entangled, the loans of spouses and daughters of priestly families, generally marked as ἱέρειαι, are also to be considered.

In the case of Soknopaiou Nesos the available data and especially the very specific names of most contracting parties suggest that the vast majority of loans was indeed negotiated between members of local priestly families. Yet this conclusion is not simply transferable to financial networks in other settlements: One should keep in mind that the social structures and economic conditions in Soknopaiou Nesos were very distinct. Remarkably, temple-officials elsewhere, such as Harthotes from Theadelphia, or Kronion from Tebtunis, negotiated loans with urban landlords and local craftsmen, and never with other priestly families or colleagues. Moreover, even the inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos occasionally kept in touch with networks beyond familial or village borders, as they negotiated loans with other privileged groups, such as with members of the urban elites, and soldiers.

Advancing from this starting point, it turned out that temple-officials from Soknopaiou Nesos, or certain members of priestly families, appeared nearly equally often as creditors and as debtors, while loans with their participation involved extraordinarily high amounts of money, also compared to liabilities in which no party was marked by a priestly title. This proportion points to the outstanding financial capabilities and needs of members of the temple of Soknopaios. Regardless of the sums involved, loans were often repaid quite quickly and punctually, and the duration of loans seldom corresponded to agricultural rhythms, such as the sowing and harvest of wheat. As the village was part of a caravan route and few inhabitants were farmers, loans were presumably used for investment in the expensive businesses of trade and camel-breeding. Thus credit-deals, especially those with exceptionally high sums above 150 drachmae, might hint at links to this business. The picture drawn in this analysis provides another argument in favour of viewing Nesiotic temple-officials as key-figures in local networks of trade and camel-breeding. Since loans offered also considerable informal benefits, for example extended scopes of action and the possibility to strengthen personal relations, several priestly officials were able to profit more often from these effects, due to their larger financial resources and needs. Contrarily, the evidence from Tebtunis and Theadelphia (which I will present more extensively in my dissertation) shows that priestly families in these settlements handled, most of the time,

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rather unspectacular sums and appeared far more often as debtors than as creditors, which underlines the exceptional situation in Soknopaiou Nesos once more.

Yet a couple of questions remain. Considering, for instance, that more than one hundred men belonged permanently to the temple of Soknopaios, certainly not all of them were able, or willing, to lend large sums of money or pursue trade and camel-breeding. It would be interesting to see whether particular priestly families preferred certain types of trade or partners for cooperation. Furthermore, the economic ties between Egyptian temples and the rural population are hardly explored so far, though documents of the Nesiotic temple-archive hint at a complex web of trans-regional links and engagements.[70] As such it remains unclear to what extent the temples contributed to regional enterprises beyond private loans. As numerous bilingual loan-contracts from Soknopaiou Nesos rest unpublished in places like Manchester,[71] future studies may be able to shed more light on these aspects.

70 On documentary sources from the temple of Soknopaios cf. among others CHAUFRAY, Marie-Pierre, "Comptes du temple de Soknopaios à Dimé à l'époque romaine", in T. Derda / A. Łajtar / J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, Warsaw, 29. 07.–03. 08. 2013* III. JJP-Suppl. 28, Warsaw, 2016, p. 1737–1749; LIPPERT, Sandra, "Seeing the Whole Picture: Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough", in T. Gagos / A. Hyatt (eds.), *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology*, ASP Special Edition, Ann Arbor, 2010, p. 427–434; LIPPERT, Sandra / SCHENTULEIT, Maren, "Die Tempelökonomie nach den demotischen Texten aus Soknopaiu Nesos", in Lippert / Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, p. 71–78. On Demotic agreements especially: LIPPERT, Sandra, "Die Abmachungen der Priester – Einblicke in das Leben und Arbeiten in Soknopaiou Nesos", in M. Capasso / P. Davoli (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, Galatina, 2007, p. 145–156.

71 I am grateful to Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit for sharing this information.

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Naqlun in the 5th–7th century: papyrological and literary evidence

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The modern monastery of Archangel Gabriel located at Deir el-Naqlun in the south-eastern Fayum—a pilgrimage centre popular among the Egyptian Christians—continues a tradition of monastic settlement which begun in the fifth century AD. The discovery of the monastic past of Naqlun is due to Polish archaeological mission directed by Włodzimierz Godlewski which has been excavating the site since 1986. Remains of ancient and medieval structures were discovered on the plateau stretching behind the modern monastery complex, and two groups of hermitages were identified to the east and west of the plateau, in the Naqlun *gebel* and next to the Bahr el-Gharaq canal respectively.[1]

Apart from archaeological remains, the site yielded a number of documents in Greek, Coptic and Arabic; it is also one of the few archaeologically identified monastic sites which can be firmly connected with a literary text. The *Life of Samuel of Kalamun*—a story of a seventh-century monastic founder and Monophysite champion—features an entire episode focused on the monastery of Naqlun. The Naqlun case is therefore a good example of a contribution of written sources to our understanding of archaeological material.[2] Thanks to papyri, we are able to glimpse the monastery residents' everyday affairs and identify their networks of contacts. Papyrological documentation is useful for reconstructing the history of the monastic centre, especially during the first two centuries of its existence (hence the chronological focus of our article).[3] Moreover, setting the Naqlun material against a broader context of the vast papyrological documentation from the Fayum helps us understand the place occupied by the site in the Arsinoite nome. The literary narrative of the *Life of Samuel* provides further hints about the monastery's functioning on the very eve of the Arab conquest. The present article, taking the written testimonies about Naqlun as its starting point, searches to explore the position of the monastery in the Fayum: from the

1 For the progress of excavations at Deir el-Naqlun, see reports published by Godlewski and his team members in the *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* series since 1990. For the first two seasons, see GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz / HERBICH, Tomasz / WIPSZYCKA, Ewa, "Deir el Naqlun (Nekloni) 1986–87. First preliminary report with Appendix from 1988 by Jarosław Dobrowolski", *Nubica* I/II, 1990, p. 171–207 and GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz / DERDA, Tomasz / GÓRECKI, Tomasz, "Deir el Naqlun (Nekloni), 1988–1989, second preliminary report", *Nubica* III/1, 1994, p. 201–263. For the topography of the site, see GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, "The monastic settlement in Naqlun at a time of important political and social transformation in the 7th century", in the present volume, p. 217–226.

2 DERDA, Tomasz, "Polish excavations at Deir el-Naqlun 1986–1991: interdependence of archaeology and papyrology", in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23–29 August, 1992*, Copenhagen, 1994, p.124–130.

3 An overview of the administrative development of the monastery: DERDA, Tomasz / WEGNER, Joanna, "Πατέρες τοῦ ἁγίου Νεκλονίου. Functionaries of the Naqlun monastery in the first two centuries of its existence", in A. Łajtar / A. Obłuski / I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Warsaw, 2016, p. 73–97.

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most basic, geographic meaning of the word to its more subtle shades, including the social relations of the monks and their leadership, and the theological stance they adopted.

1. Naqlun on the map of the Fayum (fig. 1, p. 195**)**

The long history of the Naqlun monastic settlement begun in the first half of the fifth century with a group of people who, answering the monastic calling, settled in hermitages built in close proximity of the Bahr el-Gharaq canal encircling the south-eastern part of the Fayum. These 'pioneers' of monastic life at Naqlun chose a place not particularly remote from the 'black land': the first hermitages, labelled 85 and 87 by their excavators,[4] were built respectively around 300 and 400 m from the canal, near the edge of the first desert terrace constituting the limit of cultivation zone, which in this place exceeds Bahr el-Gharaq only by around 150–200 m.

In documents from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the modern Bahr el-Gharaq is referred to as Πολέμωνος μερίδος (ὀρεινὴ) διῶρυξ; its latest attestation dates from AD 213.[5] The canal is probably identical with διῶρυξ Τεβτύνεως or ὀρινὴ διῶρυξ Τεβτύνεως; this designation appears in documents from the second century (attested for the last time in AD 211).[6] The latter name, however, refers possibly only to the southern section of Bahr el-Gharaq. Both designations disappear from documents almost simultaneously, as consequence of the disappearance of the institution of *penthemeros*, or the obligation to work ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν ἔργων for five days a year, which accounts for the existence of the vast majority of the names' attestations.[7] The lack of mentions of such an important watercourse in the rich documentary evidence from Late Roman and Byzantine periods is puzzling. It is, however, possible that this frustrating silence of the sources is due only to our inability to identify the watercourse in the documents.

The monastic complex of Naqlun is located close to that part of the Fayum which for more than half a millennium was called *meris* of Polemon in the language of

4 Reports from the excavations of the hermitages: GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, "Naqlun (Nekloni): preliminary report, 2006", *PAM* 18, 2008, p. 195–205 (hermitage 85); GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, "Naqlun 2007: preliminary report", *PAM* 19, 2010, p. 229–244 (hermitage 87).

5 The earliest document mentioning this watercourse dates from September 119 BC: *P.Bagnall* 46, l. 124: διώρυ(γος) καλου(μένης) Πολέμω(νος) and l. 131: διώρυγος Πολέμω(νος). The majority of the Roman period attestations are *penthemeros*-certificates issued to people who discharged their duty of work ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν ἔργων. The Trismegistos database contains thirty-one attestations presenting different variants of the canal's designation: ἡ ὀρινὴ διῶρυξ Πολέμωνος, ὀρινὴ διῶρυξ Πολέμωνος μερίδος, ἡ ὀρεινὴ Πολέμωνος, or διῶρυξ ὀρινὴ Πολέμωνος. See *P.Tebt.* II, p. 392 and 396; SIJPESTEIJN, Pieter J., *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. P.L.Bat. 12, Leiden, 1964, p. 79–80. MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN, Renate / TALBERT, Richard / ELLIOTT, Tom / GILLIES, Sean, "Polemonos (Diorux): a Pleiades place resource", *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places*, 2012, at <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/737016>.

6 *SB* XVIII 13981, l. 5 (AD 111); *SB* X 10541, l. 4 (AD 113); *SB* XVIII 13986, l. 5 (AD 132); *SB* XVIII 13978, l. 5 (AD 138); *P.Genova* V 195, l. 5 (AD 142); *SB* XVIII 13907, l. 6 (AD 154); *SB* X 10549, l. 9 (AD 211). All of these attestations come from *penthemeros* certificates.

7 For an overview of these documents, see SIJPESTEIJN, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, P.L.Bat. 12.

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administration.[8] The three Fayumic *merides* disappeared in AD 307/8, when a new administrative division, based on *pagi* (Greek πάγοι), was introduced.[9] According to the hypothetical reconstruction of the division of the nome into *pagi* proposed by Tomasz Derda, the area of Naqlun could have been located in the thirteenth or fourteenth Arsinoite *pagus*.[10] None of the papyri found in Naqlun so far bears any attestation of *pagi*.[11]

The villages closest to Naqlun are Qalamshah and Qalamshah Esba ('hamlet of Qalamshah'), located on the Bahr el-Gharaq canal. Both of them are of similar size nowadays, but the name of the latter shows that earlier on it had been dependent on the former. As settlement networks in the Fayum tend to display considerable stability, we are tempted to propose a tentative identification of Qalamshah or Qalamshah Esba with Kerkesoucha Orous. Documents attest to the existence of two ancient villages of this name, one in the *meris* of Herakleides and the other one in the *meris* of Polemon.[12] The component 'Orous' in the villages' names suggests their location close to desert hills. Kerkesoucha Orous in the *meris* of Herakleides lay north of Ptolemais Hormou (modern Illahun),[13] where a range of small hills approaches the Fayum. Kerkesoucha Orous in the *meris* of Polemon, attested in documents until the eight century,[14] could have derived its name from the hills of Gebel el-Naqlun. Further indications point to the position of this

8 The administrative division of the Fayum is discussed in detail in DERDA, Tomasz, *Ἀρσινοΐτης νομός. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*. JJP-Suppl. 7, Warsaw, 2006, p. 61–115, with further bibliography.

9 For details of the *pagi*-based system in the Arsinoite nome, see DERDA, *Ἀρσινοΐτης νομός*. JJP-Suppl. 7, p. 263–279.

10 DERDA, *Ἀρσινοΐτης νομός*. JJP-Suppl. 7, p. 274–276, with map on p. 273. Documents mention a number of Fayumic villages whose position is known and locate them in particular *pagi*. Based on these attestations, the system can be reconstructed as follows: the nome could be divided into *pagi* like a pie into slices, with borders between the *pagi* radiating from the centrally located capital of the nome, Arsinoiton Polis. The *pagi* were numbered counter-clockwise, starting from the place where Bahr Yusuf enters the Fayum, with Philadepheia in the 2nd *pagus*, Karanis in the 5th, Theadelpheia in the 8th. The highest numbers would have been reserved for the villages of the former meris of Polemon, with Kerkesephis in the 10th *pagus*, Kynopolis in the 12th, and Kaminoi in the 10th (or 10+xth). The highest number attested so far is 12 (Kynopolis). The total number of *pagi* cannot have exceeded 14.

11 The last dated papyrological attestations of *pagi* are *P.Oxy.* LV 3803 (AD 411), *SPP* XX 117 (AD 411) and *P.Select.* 13 (AD 421). Hermitage 87, the earliest monastic dwelling on site excavated so far, yielded two pieces of North African imported pottery dated to AD 350–425 and AD 410–470 respectively (see GODLEWSKI, *PAM* 19, 2010, p. 238–239). The hermitage remained in use for a relatively short period of time, perhaps no more than one generation, as suggested by the absence of pottery later than the second half of the fifth century. It is therefore possible that the initial years of the community's functioning coincided with the last years of the functioning of the system of *pagi*.

12 CALDERINI, Aristide, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-Romano*, Milan, 1980, vol. 3.2, p. 108–109.

13 The village is attested in the so-called archive of Petaus *komogrammateus* and belonged to Petaus' *komogrammateia*, whose administrative centre was located in Ptolemais Hormou (see HAGEDORN, Ursula / HAGEDORN, Dieter / YOUTIE, Louise C. / YOUTIE, Herbert C., *Das Archiv des Petaus (P.Petaus)*, Opladen, 1969). The village appears also in documents of the Zenon archive (see PESTMAN, Pieter W. et al., *A Guide to the Zenon Archive. Lists and Surveys*. P.L.Bat. 21.A–B, Leiden, 1981, Index XIII: Geography, p. 488, *s.v.* Κερκεσοῦχα).

14 Kerkesoucha was designed χωρίον in the documents from the seventh–eight century; cf., e.g. *SPP* X 74, 156, 165, 262, 282.

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Kerkesoucha close to a watercourse. A canal in the territory of the village is mentioned in a text from the first century BC (*SB* XVI 12569).[15] *P.Bad.* II 29, a letter concerning the organisation of charcoal transport, lists this Kerkesoucha Orous among villages having their own harbour, i.e. located on a navigable canal.[16] The only canal suitable for sailing in this part of the Fayum is Bahr el-Gharaq, or the ὀρεινὴ διῶρυξ.

2. Textual finds from fifth–seventh-century Naqlun

As mentioned before, the present article focuses on the predominantly Greek documentary dossier from the first two centuries of existence of the Naqlun community. A few words of introduction into the archaeological context of the Naqlun textual finds are due before we proceed to a description of these texts and their informative value. The Naqlun site (see fig. 2, p. 196) includes the plateau with architectural remains spanning the period from the sixth to the eleventh century, and two groups of hermitages: the western one by the Bahr el-Gharaq canal (with hermitages 85 and 87 [Figs. 3–4, p. 197–198] dated to the fifth–early sixth century) and the eastern, larger one in the gebel (with hermitage 44 far in the north dating from the fifth century and nos. 1, 2, 6, 25 and 89, established in the sixth century[17]). The layout of the site allows us to describe the monastery in its initial phase of existence as a semi-anchoritic *laura* with a central unit located, according to all probability, on the plateau. Monastic dwellings excavated so far in both groups of hermitages were carefully finished with neat plastering; the oldest hermitages, 44 in the east and 85 and 87 in the west, had complex, original layouts and were provided with spaces for receiving visitors. Nos. 85 and 87 had separate rooms designed for religious activity: both had oratoria with prayer niches, while no. 85 could also boast a small church integrated into the hermitage complex.

Texts dated to our period of interest were discovered at several places on the site: in hermitages 85, 87, 2, 6, 25, 44, and 89, and at the so-called sectors/sites D and B on the plateau. Sector B, which was particularly rich in papyrological material, is a refuse dump where rubbish from different structures on the plateau was heaped.[18]

15 *SB* XVI 12569 (66–58 or 55–51 BC, Kerkesoucha Orous); the document is a land lease in which the canal is mentioned as a topographic reference point for the location of the plot (l. 18–19: λιβὸς καὶ] [ἀπ]ηλ̣[ι]ώ̣του γύης καὶ δ̣ι̣ῶρυξ.

16 *P.Bad.* II 29 (4th c., Arsinoites), l. 9–12: πλοῖα πλεῖστα προσορμεῖ τούτου ἕνεκεν [ἐν ὅρμοις] κώμης Θεογενίδος, Τεπτύνεως, Κερκεσούχων Ὄρους, Κερκήσεω[ς], Ταλεῖ, Κερκεσήφεως, Ἄρεως, Ὀξυρύγ'χων, Τριστόμου, ἐποικίου̣ Τριστόμου, ἐποικίου Ἰσιδώρου, ἐποικίου Ψανλεβίτωνος ('and for this reason many ships come to anchor at havens of the villages Theogenis, Tebtynis, Kerkesoucha Orous, Kerkeesis, Talithis, Kerkesephis, Areos, Oxyrhyncha, Tristomon, hamlet of Tristomon, hamlet of Isidoros, hamlet of Psanlebiton'). The village of Oxyrhyncha listed in this document was located in walking distance from the Naqlun monastery, see DERDA, Tomasz / WEGNER, Joanna, "Letter from Tebetny to the monks of Naqlun concerning fieldwork (*P.Naqlun* 39)", in J.-L. Fournet / A. Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jean Gascou: textes et études papyrologiques (P. Gascou)*. Trav.Mem. 20.1, Paris, 2016, p. 133–160, esp. p. 137 and 145.

17 For the plans of hermitages 25 and 89, see the contribution by Włodzimierz GODLEWSKI in the present volume, fig. 2–3, p. 224–225.

18 See DERDA, Tomasz, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri* (*P.Naqlun* II). JJP-Suppl. 9, Warsaw 2008, p. 7–8 and DERDA, Tomasz / DZIERZBICKA, Dorota, "Refuse dump in sector B in Naqlun: excavation report 2008–2009", *PAM* 21, 2012, p. 212–221.

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The papyri which interest us here are documentary texts[19] written mainly in Greek. Textual finds from the hermitages (fifth–sixth century) are exclusively Greek; among the documents from the plateau (sixth–seventh century) we have more than one hundred Greek fragments, whereas Coptic is represented by a modest dozen of texts. At Naqlun, Greek was the language of business and everyday communication. The monks of Naqlun were addressed in Greek by people of various standing: from officials to village communities, who wrote a number of letters that were retrieved from the site. It has to be noted that while the number of fragments of late antique documents from Naqlun is impressive,[20] only a fraction of them were preserved well enough to allow for their publication. Thirty-nine texts have been published so far and an edition of further three[21] is currently being prepared by the present authors.

The Naqlun papyri are not a uniform collection. An epistolary dossier of bishop Nikolaos from the plateau[22] and three loan contracts from Hermitage 89[23] form the only two distinguishable groups of documents. Other texts, mainly letters from other hermitages and from the rubbish dump, do not display any interconnections. The majority of these documents speak openly of or hint at the community residents' relations with persons from the 'world outside': debtors from Fayumic villages, officials, city residents and people from the neighbouring settlements. The material shows a wide range of individual contacts maintained by the community members, most often as part of private business activity.

'Business' relations as an important focus of the monks' activity surface already in one of the earliest Naqlun papyri. The as yet unpublished Nd.07.228, which is the bottom part of a letter found in hermitage 87, is the only papyrus from the western group of hermitages that can be firmly connected with the community.[24] The letter is written in upright cursive datable to the fifth century. Its addressee, presumably the inhabitant of the hermitage, is

19 Editions: DERDA, Tomasz, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri* (*P.Naqlun* I), Warsaw 1995 (religious texts, documentary papyri, inscriptions on amphorae); DERDA, *P.Naqlun* II (religious texts, documentary papyri); DERDA, Tomasz / WEGNER, Joanna, "New documentary papyri from the Polish excavations at Deir el-Naqlun (*P.Naqlun* 35–38)", *JJP* 44 (2014), p. 117–131 (documentary texts); DERDA / WEGNER, in Fournet / Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jean Gascou*. Trav.Mem. 20.1 (letter to Naqlun monks containing requests for mediation(?) and help with harvest). The two volumes of the Naqlun papyri contain, apart from documents, also texts of religious character (fragments of psalms and their incipits, patristic writings and liturgical texts).

20 The total number of Naqlun documents is much higher and includes medieval texts in Coptic and Arabic written on paper; Coptic documents are being prepared for publication by Jacques van der Vliet, while Naïm Vanthieghem has assumed the responsibility for the Arabic lot. An important Arabic dossier found in the monastery has already been published by Christian Gaubert and Jean-Michel Mouton (GAUBERT, Christian / MOUTON, Jean-Michel, *Hommes et villages du Fayyoum dans la documentation papyrologique arabe (Xe–XIe siècles)*. Hautes études orientales 52, Geneva, 2014).

21 Nd.86.270 (land lease; sixth century, rubbish dump on the plateau); Nd. 07.228 (letter; fifth century, hermitage 87); Nd.15.084 (letter; sixth century, hermitage 6).

22 *P.Naqlun* I 12; *P.Naqlun* II 32–34; *P.Naqlun* 35; perhaps also *P.Naqlun* II 25 and 29.

23 *P.Naqlun* II 21–23.

24 *P.Naqlun* II 31, a fragment of letter dated to the sixth–early seventh century, was found in the apse of the church in hermitage 85 of the western cluster. It is addressed to someone bearing the title *megaloprepeia* and concerns juridical matters (see commentary in the edition). No obvious connection can be established between this text and the monastery.

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asked to buy wax for the sender (ἀγοράσαι μοι κηρόν). The text mentions also the substantial sum of two solidi (called here *holokottina*); whether the two solidi were connected with the wax purchase is uncertain. We find no traces of community infrastructure at Naqlun at such early a date[25] and it is possible that instead of acquiring wax from a monastic apiary,[26] the addressee would have rather played the role of an intermediary between the sender and a beehive owner. Other pieces of correspondence also mention activities related to business and administration: *P.Naqlun* I 12 (6th c., sector B, plateau) from the chancellery of bishop Nikolaos requests a transmission of documents between a layman and officials, indicating that the bishop and his secretary—the actual author of the letter—were somehow involved in the procedure.[27] The sender of *P.Naqlun* II 27 (6th c., sector B, plateau) reports to the addressee, whom he respectfully calls *despotes*, financial operations involving the total amount of four solidi. A certain Klodios, the sender of *P.Naqlun* II 29 (6th c., sector B, plateau)—a letter addressed to an eminent community member called 'lord and father', mentions a ship that he or someone else had found in Chaireou near Alexandria located on the waterway between the Fayum and the capital.[28] The document suggests Klodios' and the addressee's involvement in a transport enterprise. In the fragmentarily preserved *P.Naqlun* 38 (6th c.?, sector B, plateau) sent to a certain *apa* Paulos we find (l. 4) the word ἐνεχυρ[ ], which suggests that the subject of correspondence was a loan.[29] The fact that moneylending was not alien to the Naqlun monks[30] is clear from the already mentioned dossier of three contracts from hermitage 89, which date from the last decades of the sixth century and record loans given by Naqlun monks to three laymen. Two of these documents (*P.Naqlun* II 21 and 22) were regular loans, while one (*P.Naqlun* II 23) was the so-called 'sale on delivery'. All three debtors hailed from Arsinoite villages[31]

25 The first traces of organization on community level can be glanced in *P.Naqlun* 39, addressed to the 'administrative panel' of the monastery headed by a priest and three deacons. The document is dated on palaeographic grounds to the end of the sixth–first half of the seventh century; the emergence of a group responsible for management on the community level must have coincided with the development of communal infrastructure (see DERDA / WEGNER, in Łajtar / Obłuski / Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia*, p. 89ff.

26 Beehive ownership in the monastic milieu is attested in the seventh-century *P.Mon. Apollo* 50, a Coptic guarantee issued to a lay lessee of beehives by three monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit.

27 The letter is addressed to an otherwise unknown *komes* Basileios; ll. 1–2: καταξιώσῃ ἡ ὑμετέρα ποθειν(ότης) ἀποδιδῶναι τὰς δύο ἀποχὰς ἃς ἔχει, μίαν λέγω τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ μίαν τοῦ γραμματέως, τῷ κυρίῳ Τιμοθέῳ ('May your dearness kindly give *kyrios* Timotheos two receipts which you have, namely one [from] the *epimeletes*, the other [from] the *grammateus*', tr. T. Derda).

28 *P.Naqlun* II 29, l. 4: ἐν τῇ Χαιρέου ἐραυνῶν ἓν σκάφος. See DERDA, Tomasz, "Waterway Fayum–Alexandria. A note on *P.Lille* I 1 (= *P.Zen. Pest.*, Appendix A)", *JJP* 36, 2006, p. 9–20. For Chaireou, see CALDERINI, Aristide, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Milan, 1987, vol. 5, p. 106, and TIMM, Stefan, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*. TAVO 41.4, Wiesbaden, 1988, p. 1230–1233.

29 See DERDA / WEGNER, *JJP* 44, 2014, p. 131–130.

30 As was to monks in general; see MARKIEWICZ, Tomasz, "The Church, clerics, monks, and credit in the papyri", in A. Boud'hors / J. Clackson / C. Louis / P. Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt. Ostraca, Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clackson*. ASP 46, Cincinnati, 2009, p. 187–202.

31 *P.Naqlun* II 21: Alexandrou Nesos in the former *meris* of Themistos; *P.Naqlun* II 22: Eleusina in the former *meris* of Polemon; *P.Naqlun II* 23: the name of the debtor's village is not preserved, 'our village'

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and at least one transaction—the one in *P.Naqlun* II 23—was concluded with the participation of people from the nome capital, Arsinoiton Polis.[32] Not only money, but also goods such as food or clothing passed through the hands of the Naqlun monks, as attested by documents recording various goods reaching the monastery, whether as gifts or as a result of exchange.[33]

The geographical reach of the contacts maintained by the people connected with the Naqlun community extended beyond the Arsinoite nome: a link to Herakleopolis is found in *P.Naqlun* II 28,[34] while the mention of Chaireou in *P.Naqlun* II 29 may suggest connections as far as Alexandria itself. The social scope of the relations is exemplified by the dossier of bishop Nikolaos. A bishop of an unknown see,[35] he resided at Naqlun at some point in the sixth century; it is possible that he decided to stay at the place where he had lived as monk prior to his ordination. It is worth noticing that his name, even though popular in the Byzantine *koine*, was extraordinarily rare in Egypt.[36] The bishop received gifts from local clergymen (*P.Naqlun* 35; see n. 33) and corresponded in Greek with locally prominent figures, including a *komes* named Basileios (*P.Naqlun I* 12). *P.Naqlun* II 25, a letter speaking of local unrest and ensuing trials,[37] was dispatched from a chancellery of an official of rank, as indicated by the elaborate address on the verso. It mentions an individual bearing the title *paneuphemos* (l. 2: ὁ πανεύφ[ημος])—a member of the elite who could have been a representative of state administration.[38] The letter was addressed to the bishop or a superior figure of the Naqlun community and is an interesting testimony to the calibre of affairs that concerned them.

(ἡμετέρα κώμη) is mentioned in l. 9.

32 L. 15–16: NN son of Isak, subscriber for the debtor; l. 16–17: Aurelius Georgios, witness.

33 *P.Naqlun* I 10 (6th–7th c., plateau): vinegar, clams and green vegetables delivered to the table of a 'lord and father'—an abbot or the bishop; *P.Naqlun* I 11 (6th c., hermitage 2): items of monastic clothing worth one solidus and six *trienses* (with transport charge); *P.Naqlun* I 12 (6th c., plateau): wine given to monks by an official, *komes* Basileios; *P.Naqlun* II 27 (6th c., plateau): *koriaxoi* fish sent to the addressee with the letter. *P.Naqlun* II 28 (6th c., plateau) mentions a man with two animals—perhaps pack donkeys loaded with some products—sent to Naqlun from Herakleopolis. *P.Naqlun* 35 (6th c., plateau)—a narrow, complete strip of papyrus inscribed only with an address mentioning bishop Nikolaos—was perhaps a tag accompanying a 'parcel' destined for the addressee (see DERDA / WEGNER, *JJP* 44, 2014, p. 118–120).

34 In *P.Naqlun* II 28, l. 2–3 the sender asks the addressee in the Naqlun monastery: παρακαλῶ σ`ε´ κοποθῆναι (l. κοπωθῆναι) ἕως τῆς Ἡρακλέ[ους] ἵνα λαλήσω σοι ἀπόκρισιν (I ask you to bother to come to Herakleopolis, so that I can tell you [my] answer; tr. T. Derda).

35 Intuition would suggest Arsinoiton Polis, but we need to consider also the not so remote Herakleopolis.

36 In Greek documents from the fifth–eighth century, it appears only three times: *P.Genova* I 41, l. 6 (list of personal names; 7th–8th c., provenance unknown); *P.Mert.* I 50, l. 30 (money account; 8th c., Aphrodite?); *O.Brit. Mus. Copt.* 1, p. 32, verso, l. 6 (letter; 7th–8th c., Jeme).

37 For a detailed commentary on the document's content, see the *editio princeps*: DERDA, Tomasz, "Byzantine letter from Deir el-Naqlun (*P.Sijp.* 61)", in A. J. B. Sirks / K. A. Worp (eds.), *Papyri in Memory of P. J. Sijpesteijn* (*P.Sijp.*). ASP 40, Oakville, 2007, p. 381–385.

38 If we limit ourselves to the Arsinoite region in the sixth century, three possible identifications of this *paneuphemos* can be proposed: Flavius Strategios *paneuphemos*, a landowner and pagarch (6th–beginning of the 7th century; on his dossier, see BANAJI, Jairus, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*, Oxford, 2001, p. 233–234); Flavius Apion, a pagarch (*CPR* XIV 10; 556–579, Arsinoiton Polis); Faustus (*P.Rain. Cent.* 155; 5th–6th c., Arsinoites).

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The image of the Naqlun monastery that emerges from the papyri is one of a community of well-off, economically independent individuals who were not only engaged in networks of exchange and money circulation, but also remained in touch with local elite, including officials of rank who kept them up to date with the course of events in 'the world'. It is a pity that apart from *P.Naqlun* 39, a letter sent to the monastery by the inhabitants of the Arsinoite village Tebetny represented by a priest and a deacon,[39] the Naqlun dossier does not preserve more attestations of contacts with the leaders of local village communities, which could be quite common, as shown for instance by the vast dossier of Apa Apollo's monastery at Bawit.[40]

This community of independent monastics, once blessed with the presence of a bishop on its premises, was to witness a series of events set in motion by one of the key figures of Egypt in the first half of the seventh century: Cyrus, the Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria and Heraclius' *topoteretes*.[41] An episode of the conflict between Cyrus and a particularly zealous Monophysite monk named Samuel unfolded at Naqlun; the literary narrative that records it offers us an interesting insight into some aspects of the monastery's life and the activity of Cyrus himself.

4. The Naqlun monastery in the *Life of Samuel of Kalamun*

The *Life of Samuel of Kalamun* is a biography of a Monophysite monk Samuel, the founder of the Kalamun monastery. It was written in the eighth century by Isaak the Presbyter. The author is supposed to have possessed first-hand knowledge of the monastery of Kalamun, where the memory of Samuel was carefully preserved by his disciples. Despite some distortions, especially in the presentation of Cyrus' character and attitude, the text is considered a reliable source.[42]

39 *P.Naqlun* 39 [= *P.Gascou* 29], l. 2–12 : τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ πατράσιν ἡμῶν Ἀγαθίῳ (Ἀγαθήτι?) πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ ἄπα Παύλῳ καὶ ἄπα Νειλαμμώνι καὶ ἄπα Ἀανίῳ διακόνοις καῖ πᾶσι τοῖς μονάζουσι ἁγίου Νεκλονίου παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ διακόνου καὶ πάντων ἀπὸ κώμης Τεβέτνυ; 'To our beloved and fathers, Agathios/Agathes the presbyter, and apa Paulos, and apa Neilammon, and apa Aanios the deacons, and to all the monks of the holy Neklonion from the presbyter and the deacon, and all the people from the village Tebetny' tr. T. Derda / J. Wegner; standardized transcription after DERDA / WEGNER, in Fournet / Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jean Gascou*. Trav.Mem. 20.1, p. 140).

40 See WEGNER, Joanna, "The Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome and its relations with the 'world outside'", *JJP* 46, 2016, p. 147–274, esp. p. 212–228.

41 On Cyrus' activites in Egypt, see WIPSZYCKA, Ewa, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions*, JJP-Suppl. 25, Warsaw 2015, p. 167–169 and 421–423, with further bibliography. A *topoteretes* was an imperial envoy entrusted with special prerogatives and powers; see JANKOWIAK, Marek, *Essai d'histoire politique du monothélisme à partir de la correspondance entre les empereurs byzantins, les patriarches de Constantinople et les papes de Rome*, PhD thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études–University of Warsaw, 2009; BOOTH, Phil, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 2014, p. 205.

42 Edition: ALCOCK, Anthony (ed.), *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter*, Warminster 1983, quoted throughout the article. See also ALCOCK, Anthony, "Samū'īl of Qalamūn, saint", in A. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, New York 1991, p. 2092–2093, and WIPSZYCKA, Ewa, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^{e}–VIII^{e} siècle)*. JJP-Suppl. 11, Warsaw, 2009, p. 432–433.

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Samuel, banned from Sketis by Cyrus, moved to ‘the mountain of Neklone’ (ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲛⲉ), which is none other than our Naqlun. Interestingly, Isaak’s description of the place corresponds with the topography of the site as we know it. The focal point of the establishment in Isaak’s account is called *monasterion*—a place with a church and monks’ cells, where Samuel had initially established his dwelling. Later on, willing to escape crowds of visitors drawn to the *monasterion* by his sanctity, Samuel moved to ‘a cave (ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲩⲗⲉⲟⲛ) on the east side of the monastery’ (*Life* 9). Thus, the *monasterion* can be identified with the plateau, while Samuel’s cave could have been one of the Naqlun hermitages in the gebel in the eastern part of the area. In an episode where Cyrus sends soldiers to Naqlun to prepare the place for his arrival (on the bishop’s activity in the Fayum region, see below), the bishop’s envoys come to the *monasterion* where they find the community’s *oikonomos* (*Life* 10: ‘the one who serves’ [ⲡⲉⲧⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ], called later ‘the steward’ [ⲡⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ]), left there alone after all other monks had gone into hiding, prevented of Cyrus’s approach. Presumably the *oikonomos* stayed to keep an eye on the community’s property stored in domestic units at the *monasterion*.

The identification of the plateau with Isaak’s *monasterion* is logical on topographic grounds, even if archaeological data is not overly straightforward. The structures on the plateau had undergone numerous reconstructions in the course of the monastery’s existence and their functional divisions are far from clear. However, pieces of architectural decoration scattered around the area and reused in later structures point to the earlier existence of an ecclesiastical building in this part of the site (which would correspond with Isaak’s description of the *monasterion* as an ecclesiastical heart of the community). The imposing complex of buildings A–AA on the plateau (dated to the sixth century) could have incorporated a church and storage spaces used by the community.[43]

The activity of the bishop Cyrus in the Fayum and his interest in Naqlun are the most interesting elements of the episode. The account of the *Life* concerning Cyrus’ actions preserves details which go beyond hagiographic *topoi*. Isaak’s narrative mentions the bishop’s visit in the Fayum whose goal supposedly consisted in imposing the universal acceptance of a document called anachronistically ‘Tome of Leo’. In fact, the document expressed the Monothelite doctrine devised to unite the fighting sides of the Christological controversy.[44] Cyrus arrived in the capital of the Fayum where he was welcomed by the

43 GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, “Naqlun (Nekloni). The hermitages, cemetery and the keep in the early 6th century”, in S. Lippert / M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Third International Fayum Symposium, Freudenstadt, May 29–June 1, 2007*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 101–112; GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, “Naqlun: excavations 2000”, *PAM* 12, 2001, p. 149–161, esp. p. 151–154; GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, “Naqlun: excavations 2001”, *PAM* 13, 2002, pp. 159–170, esp. p. 160–168. See also GROSSMANN, Peter, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, p. 513, who interprets the massive structure A as a church which underwent several alterations.

44 The ecclesiastical document known as Tome of Leo or *Tomus ad Flavianum* was sent by pope Leo I to the bishop of Constantinople Flavian in 449 (see STUDER, Basil, “Tomus ad Flavianum”, in A. Di Berardino [ed.], *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, vol. 2, Casale Monferrato, 1983, col. 3480). The Monothelite doctrine claimed that Christ had two natures (human and divine) but only one will; it was condemned as heretic by the Third Council of Constantinople in 681. See SIMONETTI, Manlio, “Monoenergismo, monotelismo”, in Di Berardino (ed.), *Dizionario*, col. 2289–2291;

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city's bishop Victor.[45] Shunned by 'the magistrates and the rest of the orthodox' (*Life* 10; ⲚⲀⲢⲬⲞⲚ ⲘⲚ̅ⲠⲤⲈⲈ̅ⲠⲈ Ⲛ̅ⲚⲈⲞⲢⲐⲞⲆⲞⲜⲞⲤ), Cyrus proceeded with a plan to force the Fayumic monks to accept the 'Tome' and set example for the rest of the populace. News of his intentions reached Samuel, then residing in Naqlun, who persuaded his fellow monks to hide and avoid confrontation with the bishop. The *oikonomos* found at Naqlun by Cyrus's envoys was brought before the bishop to a place 'on the road at the mouth of the canal'—an information showing that during his journey Cyrus kept to the ancient route to Fayum via the Bahr Jusuf canal.[46] Upon learning that the Naqlun monks had gone into hiding at Samuel's instigation, Cyrus 'cursed the steward and the monastery and the monks who lived in it. He turned to another road and he has not been up to the mountain to this day. After this the brothers returned to the monastery in peace' (*Life* 10–11). Cyrus returned to Arsinoiton Polis and ordered the soldiers to fetch Samuel. Confronted with Cyrus's unrelenting enmity, insulted, beaten and flogged, Samuel was finally cast out from Naqlun, never to return. The monastery continued its existence. This is implied in *Life* 26 describing events that took place a few years after the Naqlun episode, when a group of fourteen monks is said to have left the monastery to join Samuel and his new community at Kalamun.

One point in Isaak's narrative of Cyrus's deeds is particularly striking: it is said more than once that Cyrus wielded civil authority. In *Life* 7 we read: '[…] the Colchian[47] sat on the throne and he was given civil authority (ⲦⲀⲢⲬⲎ Ⲛ̅ⲚⲈⲚⲆⲨⲘⲰⲤⲒⲞⲚ)'. While scolding Samuel in *Life* 11, Cyrus says, '[…] you have not honoured me as archbishop nor have you honoured my authority as civil ruler'. *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* states that Cyrus had become Egypt's *praefectus augustalis*.[48] The opinions expressed in scholarship on the reliability of this information are divided; it is certain, however, that Cyrus's power extended far beyond ecclesiastical domain. This finds confirmation in a papyrus, *Chr.Wilck.* 8 = *P.Lond.* I 113.10, p. 222.[49] The text records the payment for supplies delivered by representatives of the Arsinoite village Kaminoi,[50] 'according to the requisition order of Cyrus, the most holy and God-honoured *papas*' (ll. 13–14: εἰς διαφόρους διανομὰς γενομένας κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Κύρου τοῦ ἁγιοτ[άτ]ου καὶ θεοτιμήτ[ου] πάπα). The village's contribution was considerable and included hides, wool, dry fodder,

HOVORUN, Cyril, *Will, Action and Freedom. Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century*, Leiden–Boston 2008.

45 For Victor, see TIMM, *Ägypten*. TAVO 41.4, p. 1517; for the sequence of Arsinoite bishops, see WORP, Klaas A., "A checklist of bishops in Byzantine Egypt (AD 325–c. 750)", *ZPE* 100, 1994, p. 283–318, esp. p. 297 (date of Victor's episcopate: 'c. 635').

46 For the route in question, see DERDA, *JJP* 36, 2006.

47 'Colchian' is the deprecating epithet which Isaak uses while speaking of Cyrus. It was derived from Phasis in Colchis which had been Cyrus's bishopric before he was sent by Heraclius to Alexandria. It expresses Isaak's lack of recognition of Cyrus as bishop of Alexandria.

48 EVETTS, Basil Thomas Alfred, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, II: *Peter to Benjamin*. PatrOr 1, Paris, 1904, p. 484; information rejected by WINKELMAN, Friedhelm, "Ägypten und Byzanz vor der arabischen Eroberung", *Byzantinoslavica* 40, 1979, p. 161–182.

49 For this document, see WIPSZYCKA, *Alexandrian Church*. JJP-Suppl. 25, p. 168–169.

50 Kaminoi in the *meris* of Polemon, located in the 10+xth *pagus*; see CALDERINI, *Dizionario*, vol. 3, p. 63.

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sheep and vegetables. The document is dated to 639/640.[51] It is possible that it tells us more about the context of Cyrus's actions in the Fayum. His administrative duties, including ordering and organising large requisitions, may have been the motive behind his tour of the province, aside from the intention to enforce the acknowledgement of an unpopular doctrinal solution which Isaak presents as the bishop's sole goal. If the requisitions of *Chr.Wilck.* 8 and Cyrus's stay in the Fayum in Isaak's account can indeed be connected, we would be able to precise the date of Samuel's stay at Naqlun to around 639/640, on the very eve of the Arab conquest.

Shortly after these events took place, the first phase of the monastery's existence came to an end, as suggested by archaeological evidence.[52] The history of the first two centuries of Naqlun is reconstructed from scattered pieces of information obtained from different types of sources. Although our knowledge is still lacunose (nothing is known, e.g., of the economic organisation of the monastery as a whole, aside from individual business activities of its members), the general profile of the monastery and the people who lived in it can be discerned thanks to the insight offered us by written sources. A brief recapitulation of what we know is therefore necessary at this point.

The Naqlun monks maintained a network of contacts in the nome and beyond, with links extending to cities such as Herakleopolis and Arsinoiton Polis. Even though we are unable to fathom the intricacies of the circumstances described in the Naqlun papyri, the cities seem to have been places of vital interest to monks and their agents rather than just points on the map—as is the case in the post-Conquest dossier of the monastery at Bawit, where the name of the local metropolis—Hermopolis Magna—serves only as geographical and administrative point of reference. The scope of problems mentioned in the correspondence retrieved from the plateau refuse dump is exceptional, even if we acknowledge that it could have been the result of episcopal presence on the site. Lay affairs, however, did not penetrate the much richer epistolary dossiers of Abraham of Hermonthis and Pisentius of Koptos—two Monophysite bishops, almost contemporary with Nikolaos from Naqlun. Both Abraham and Pisentions lived in monasteries in the Theban region, while their capitals most probably remained in the hands of Chalcedonians.[53]

51 See WORP, Klaas A., "Regnal formulas of the emperor Heraclius", *JJP* 23, 1993, p. 217–232, esp. p. 230–231.

52 For archaeological evidence of the abandonment of the monastery in the period immediately after the conquest, see GODLEWSKI, in the present volume, p. 220–221.

53 Abraham was bishop of Hermonthis at the turn of the sixth century; his documentary dossier consist of nearly 200 texts on ostraca and limestone chips (only one document—Abraham's will, *P.Lond.* I 77—was written on papyrus; it also happens to be the only document of the dossier composed in Greek). The texts of the archive are mainly letters which offer us a precious insight into pastoral activities of the bishop. For the most recent overview of Abraham's life and activity, see DEKKER, Renate, "Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis. New observations on his historical context, chronology and social networks", *JCoptStud* 18, 2016, p. 19–43. The archive of Pisentios of Koptos (610s–620s) also consists of letters pertaining to this bishop's pastoral work. For general information on both collections, see WIPSZYCKA, *Alexandrian Church*. JJP-Suppl. 25, p. 34–41, with further bibliography. For the possible existence of double ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Egyptian *chora*, with Chalcedonians residing in the cities, and their monophysite counterparts active in the hinterland, see WIPSZYCKA, Ewa, "The institutional Church", in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 331–349,

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Our texts—the papyri and the *Life*—reveal no more than scraps of information. There are, however, several points of convergence between our textual record and archaeology, which make up a fairly coherent picture. The Naqlun of the papyri is a community of independently living monks whose prominent figures are involved in lay affairs; Isaak's Naqlun from the *Life of Samuel* is, again, a loosely shaped community centred around a *monasterion*. The presence of independent monks on the one hand and traces of a central establishment on the other are visible in the archaeological record, with its hermitages and structures on the plateau.

In our concluding remarks we would like to focus once again on Isaak's account, as it is possible that his narrative gives further depth to the image obtained thanks to other sources. First, we need to emphasise the success of the actions taken by Cyrus against Samuel of Kalamun in Naqlun. Cyrus is said to have cursed the monastery after the confrontation with Samuel; then, however, we are informed that the monks returned peacefully to Naqlun. This transition can point to a reconciliation—perhaps induced by fear—between Cyrus and the community. After all, in the clash between Cyrus and Samuel it was the former who had the upper hand, causing the monastery to be rid of the most fervent supporters of the Monophysite doctrine, namely Samuel and his disciples. Another group of monks is said to have left Naqlun to join Samuel a few years after the clash; theological considerations might have played a role in their choice. Therefore, the question we need to ask is: was the orientation of Naqlun on the eve of the Conquest Chalcedonian? The predominant role of Greek and the involvement of high-ranking personages in the community (bishop Nikolaos himself? The monastery's superiors?) in contacts with people of rank and their affairs might hint at such an alignment of the community. If this hypothesis is true, we would need to emphasise the difference between Nikolaos on the one hand, and Abraham and Pisentios on the other: the former's residence in a monastery instead of a city would have been a matter of personal choice rather than a necessity dictated by theological consideration.[54] The Chalcedonian alignment of the Naqlun monastery could have accounted for its crisis in the aftermath of the Conquest. Could it cause the enmity of the invading Arabs, engaged in hard fighting with the Byzantine forces in the Herakleopolite area, just few kilometres away? Or was the connection between the monastery and state-related elite strong enough that when the conquest brought about the disruption of networks of power, the monastery could not help but suffer disruption too? For the time being, we are not prepared to answer these questions—which are all the more important as it appears that the Naqlun monastery was a significant local point of focus—but we are obliged to ask them nonetheless.

esp. p. 344–345 and WIPSZYCKA, *Alexandrian Church*. JJP-Suppl. 25, p. 140–141.

54 Such a solution was not uncommon for bishops; a good Egyptian example is provided by the Oxyrhynchite bishop Aphou, ordained by Theophilos, who spent the week in his monastery and came to the city on Saturdays and Sundays to officiate and teach (see ORLANDI, Tito, "Aphu", in A. Atiya (ed.) *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, New York, 1991, p. 154–155; life of Aphou: ROSSI, Francesco, *I papiri copti del Museo Egizio di Torino*, vol. 1.3, Turin, 1887, p. 5–22).

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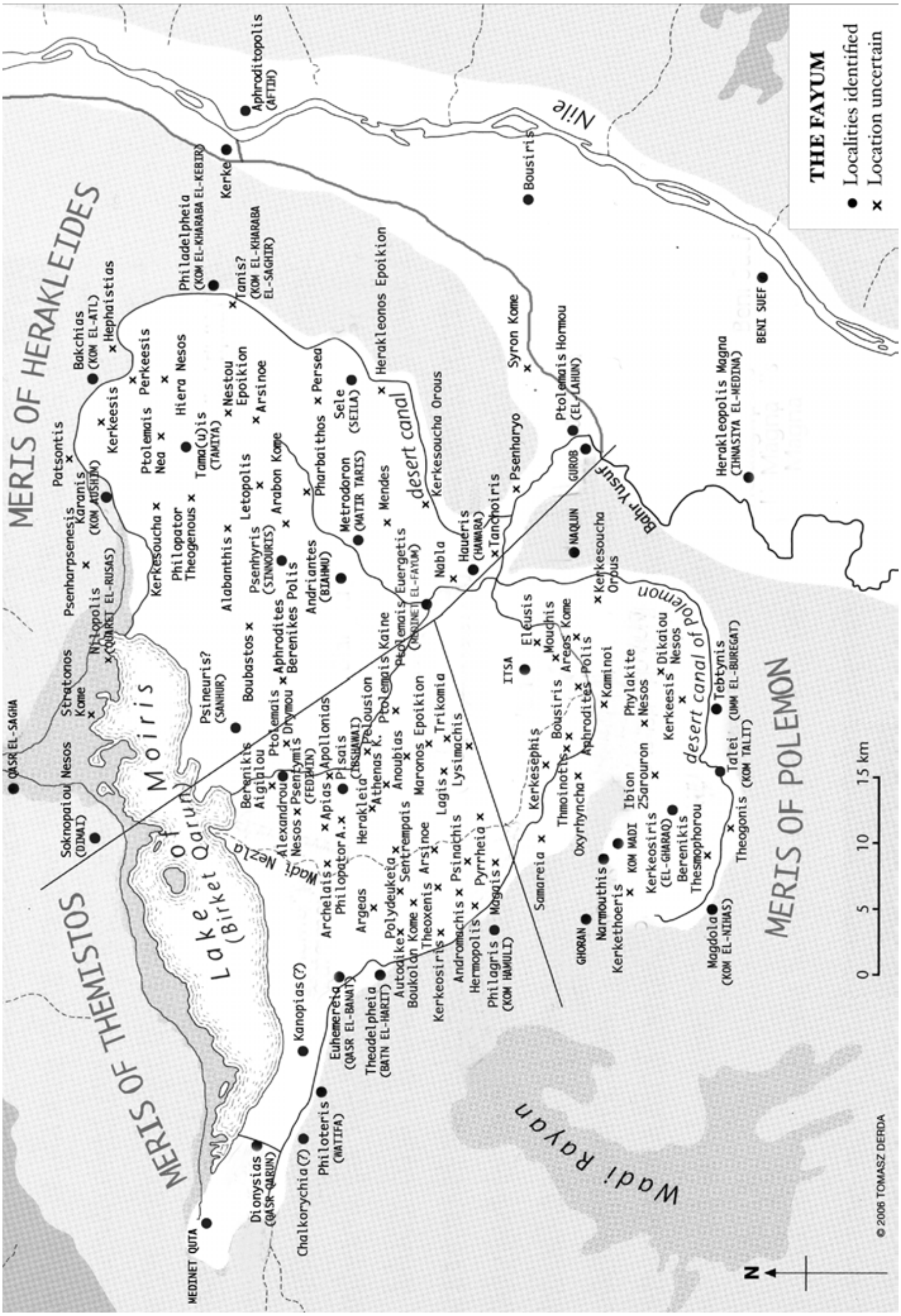


Fig. 1: Map of the Fayum (after Tomasz Derda, *Ἀρσινοΐτης νομός. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*. JJurPap-Suppl. 7, Warsaw, 2006, p. 21).

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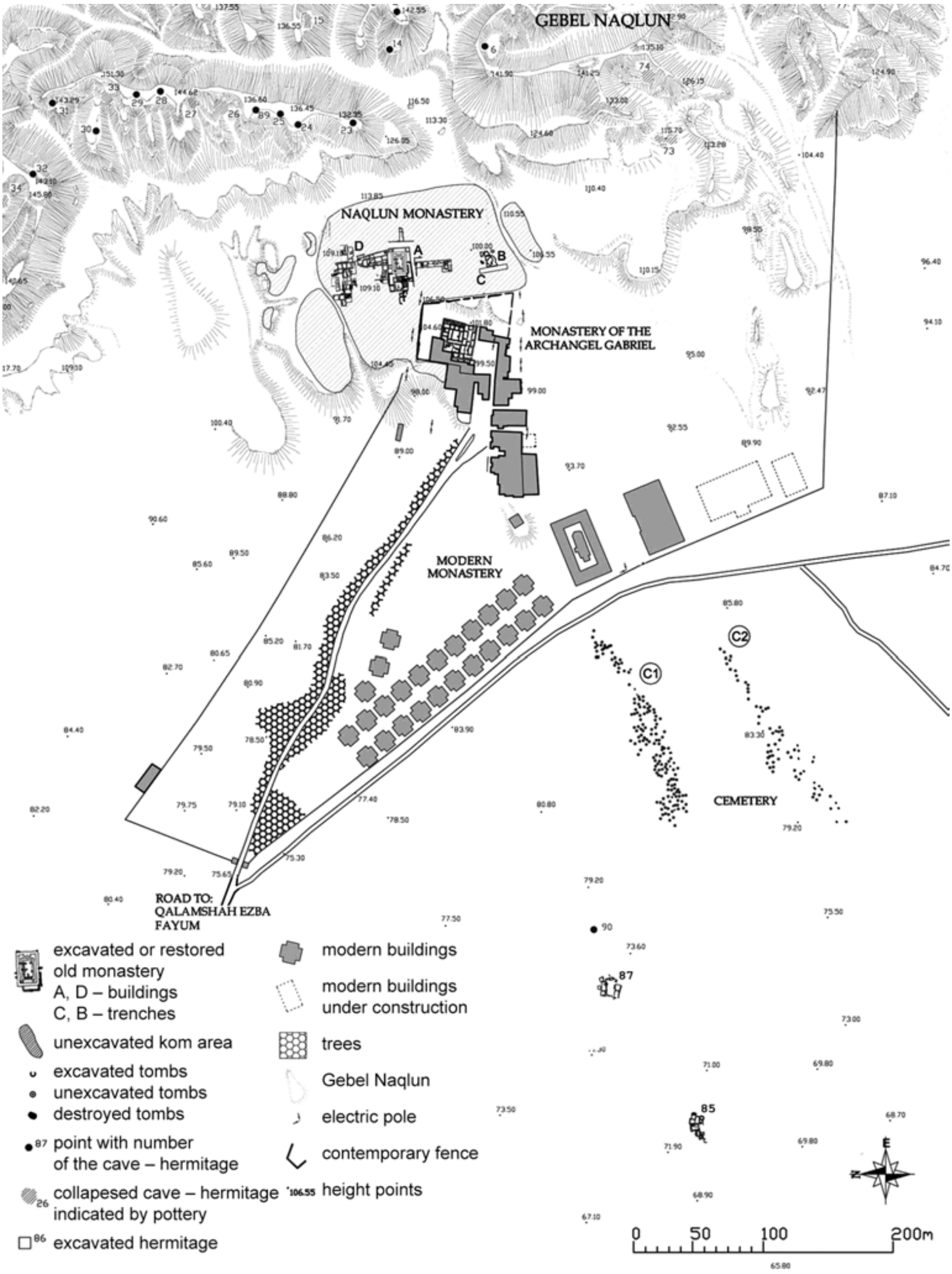


Fig. 2: Deir el-Naqlun (mapping Wiesław Małkowski, 2007).

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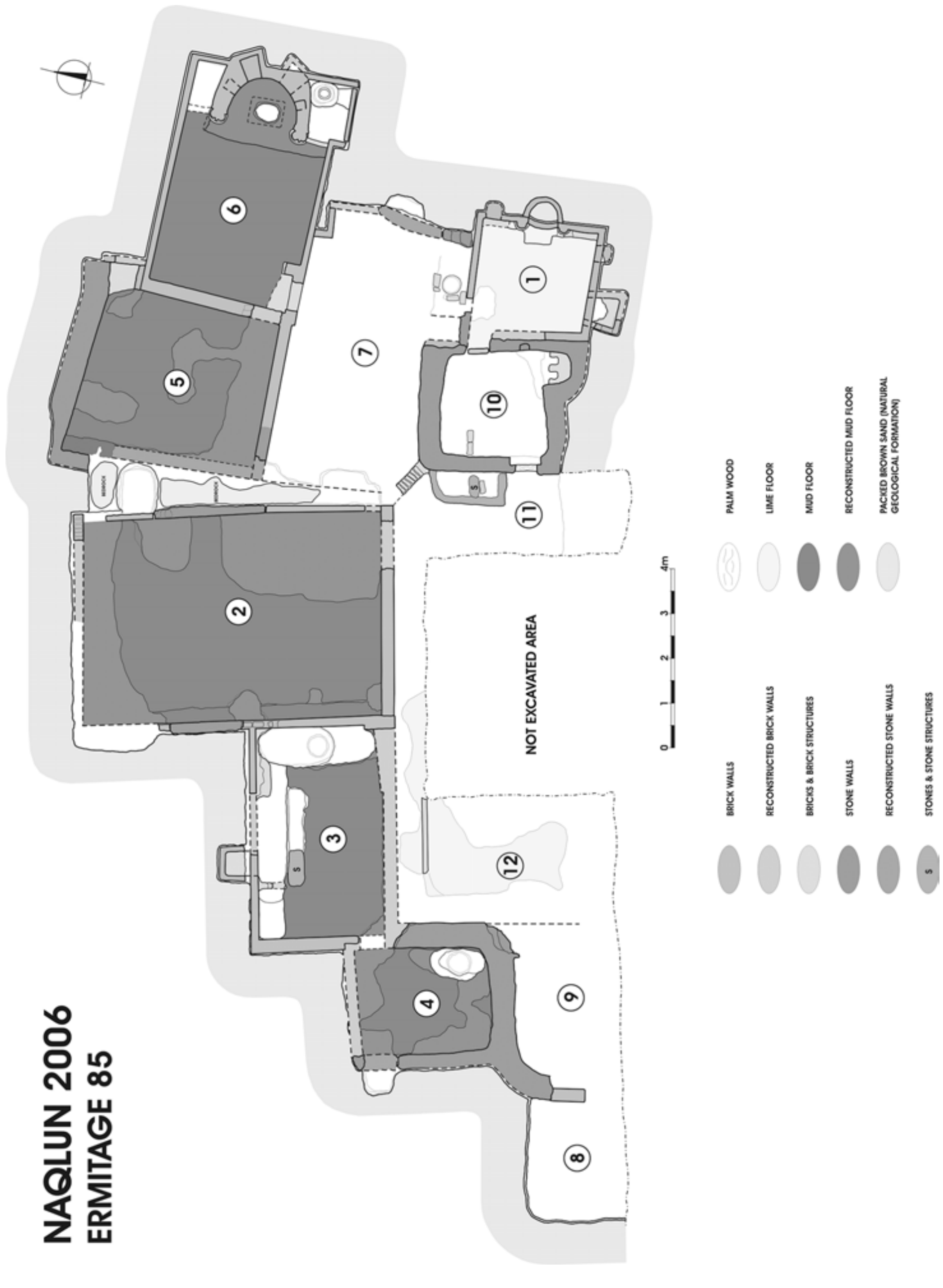


Fig. 3. Hermitage 85 (drawn by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Szymon Maślak).

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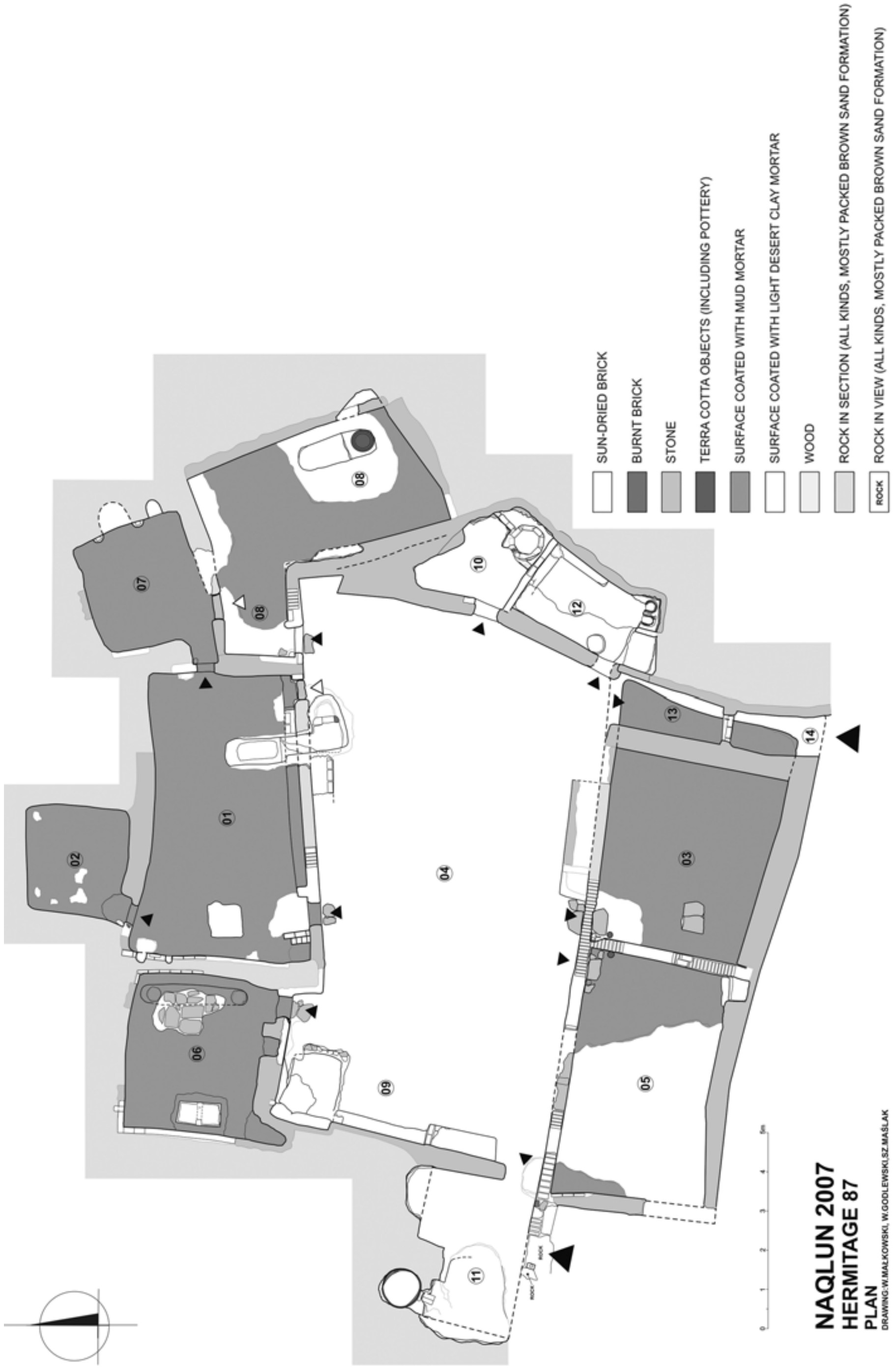


Fig. 4: Hermitage 87 (drawn by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Szymon Maślak).

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Éditer et rééditer les documents coptes fayoumiques du début de l'époque arabe, progrès et perspectives

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La sixième édition du colloque international sur le Fayoum a accueilli pour la première fois en son sein une communication consacrée spécifiquement à la documentation copte. Cette nouveauté est sans aucun doute un signe des temps et du regain d'intérêt qui touche les documents coptes fayoumiques depuis une dizaine d'années. Si la voie avait été ouverte il y a déjà longtemps par Ludwig Stern et son article fondateur[1], puis poursuivie par les éditions de textes de Walter Crum[2], Jakob Krall[3] et Walter Till[4], les textes documentaires fayoumiques ont fait l'objet de moins d'attention que les autres, aussi bien de la part des philologues que des historiens, en raison de leur difficulté et du peu de textes édités disponibles[5]. L'édition et l'étude de ces textes a été relancée par une étude présentée par Anne Boud'hors et Florence Calament au colloque de l'International Association for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP) de Vienne en 2008[6]. Tout en donnant l'édition de quelques papyrus inédits conservés au Musée du Louvre, cette étude fait le point sur ce que l'on sait de la documentation copte fayoumique (questions de datation, de langue, de formulaire). La réédition de la centaine de documents juridiques coptes fayoumiques de la collection de Vienne publiés dans les CPR II et IV[7], accompagnée d'un commentaire ainsi que d'une étude de la langue, a pour but de poursuivre ce travail[8]. Je souhaite évoquer ici quelques-uns des progrès et perspectives qui en sont attendus.

Dans les années 1880, diverses collections européennes firent l'acquisition de papyrus en provenance du Fayoum, principalement grecs, arabes et coptes. Ludwig Stern, retraçant les étapes de ces acquisitions, mentionne comme principaux acquéreurs le musée égyptien

1 STERN, Ludwig, « Faijumische Papyri im ägyptischen Museum zu Berlin », *ZÄS* 23, 1885, p. 23–44. Voir aussi STERN, Ludwig, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 14–15.

2 CRUM, Walter Ewing, *Manuscripts brought from the Fayyum by Flinders Petrie*, Londres, 1893 (*P.Fay.Copt.*); Certains des textes publiés dans CRUM, Walter E., *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Londres, 1905 (*P. Lond. Copt.* I), ont la même provenance.

3 KRALL, Jakob, *Koptische Texte*. CPR II, Vienne, 1895.

4 TILL, Walter, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. CPR IV, Vienne, 1958.

5 La Banque de Données des textes coptes documentaires d'Alain Delattre <http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte/base.php?page=accueil.php> ne répertorie que 400 documents environ.

6 BOUD'HORS, Anne / CALAMENT, Florence, « Pour une étude des archives coptes de Medinet el-Fayoum », dans A. Kaplony / D. Potthast / C. Römer (éd.), *From Bāwīṭ to Marw. Documents from the Medevial Muslim World*, Leiden / Boston 2015, p. 23–58.

7 La réédition de ces textes se fait dans le cadre d'un projet post-doctoral financé par le fonds pour la recherche autrichien (FWF projet P 27781-G21) et dirigé par le Pr. Fritz Mitthof.

8 L'estimation, donnée par Anne Boud'hors et Florence Calament, d'environ trois cents pièces coptes fayoumiques dans la collection viennoise est à revoir largement à la hausse. Il reste en effet une foule de lettres fayoumiques inédites, plus ou moins complètes.

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de Berlin, la collection de l'archiduc Rainer à Vienne (aujourd'hui Papyrussammlung) et le musée du Louvre à Paris. Il faut y ajouter le British Museum de Londres et quelques collections russes où d'autres documents ont été dispersés. Pour Stern, « tous ces papyrus fayoumiques ont sans aucun doute appartenu à un grand ensemble, en quelque sorte à des archives de la ville gréco-copto-arabe qui se trouvait sur le site de l'antique Arsinoë ou Crocodilopolis, devenue plus tard Medinet el-Faris, un peu au nord de l'actuelle Medinet el-Fayoum »[9].

Les éditions de ces textes, publiées par les savants mentionnés précédemment, sont d'une qualité exceptionnelle, surtout compte tenu des instruments de travail qu'ils avaient à leur disposition ; mais elles sont anciennes et souvent très sommaires. Beaucoup ne comportent qu'une traduction partielle, sinon aucune traduction, et les documents eux-mêmes ne sont parfois édités qu'en partie[10]. Les commentaires historiques et philologiques sont réduits à la portion congrue, ce qui rend la plupart du temps ces textes peu utilisables pour qui n'est pas coptisant. Par ailleurs, la majeure partie de ces documents reste inédite. Les premiers éditeurs – c'est le cas de Till – se sont beaucoup concentrés sur les documents juridiques. Il reste un travail d'édition colossal à faire sur les lettres, qui sont plus difficiles, mais aussi plus instructives pour les caractéristiques dialectales.

Le paradoxe fayoumique

Anne Boud'hors et Florence Calament pointaient déjà la difficulté qu'il y a à définir un document « fayoumique »[11]. Celui-ci peut être à la fois un document marqué par une spécificité linguistique, écrit dans un dialecte particulier du copte, et un document défini par son origine géographique, l'oasis du Fayoum. Or, dans le cas des documents coptes, ces deux réalités ne sont pas totalement en adéquation : l'aire dialectale du fayoumique dépasse les frontières strictes du nome arsinoïte pour s'étendre à l'Hérakléopolite, et même parfois au nord de la Moyenne-Égypte ; inversement un document identifié avec certitude comme venant du Fayoum, grâce à des critères internes (toponymie) ou externes (muséographie) ne présente pas forcément – c'est même très rare – une couleur dialectale cohérente, et peut être écrit en sahidique avec une influence plus ou moins forte du fayoumique.

En outre, le dialecte fayoumique apparaît tardivement dans les papyrus documentaires. Alors que les restes de manuscrits littéraires rédigés dans ce dialecte comptent parmi les plus anciens textes attestés en copte (dès la fin du III^e^ – début du IV^e^ siècle) et connaissent une transmission régulière du IV^e^ au IX^e^ siècle[12], il semble que les documents coptes fayoumiques ne fassent leur apparition qu'après la conquête arabe, la majorité des textes pouvant être datée des VIII^e^–IX^e^ siècles.

Avec les archives du pagarque Papas (Edfou, années 670)[13], le dossier de la correspondance de Basilios, diocète d'Aphroditô, avec le gouverneur Qurrah b. Šarīk

9 STERN, *ZÄS* 23, p. 23.

10 C'est notamment le cas de certains textes des *P.Lond.Copt.* I édités par Crum.

11 BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw*, p. 25–26.

12 BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw*, p. 26.

13 Il s'agit d'archives bilingues, contenant des papyrus grecs et coptes, documentant les activités adminsitratives de Papas. Les textes grecs ont été publiés par Rémondon dans les *P.Apoll.* ; la publication du pan copte est en cours, cf. BOUD'HORS, Anne, et al., « Un nouveau départ pour les

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(années 710), les documents de l'Hermopolite, notamment les archives de Senouthios[14], cette documentation fait donc partie des grands ensembles documentaires multilingues du début de l'époque arabe, à cette réserve près que, jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas réellement identifié de dossiers, ou d'archives, ou même de groupements de textes, du fait de l'aspect éclaté et dispersé des documents dans diverses collections. Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'un matériel de dépotoir et non de véritables archives constituées[15].

Les progrès attendus de l'édition et de la réédition de ces documents sont multiples. Ils concernent d'abord les questions de datation : aussi difficile qu'il soit de dater des papyrus documentaires de manière précise, une étude plus serrée de certains documents permet de préciser le cadre chronologique dans lequel s'inscrit la documentation fayoumique. Sur le plan linguistique, on peut en espérer une meilleure connaissance des variétés du dialecte copte fayoumique. Enfin la documentation copte fayoumique a beaucoup à apporter à l'histoire institutionnelle et sociale, non seulement de la région, mais plus largement de l'Égypte au début de l'époque arabe.

Questions de datation

En l'absence de datation absolue, les documents fayoumiques, comme le reste de la documentation copte, sont difficilement datables avec précision. La plupart des documents qui ont une portée juridique (actes notariés et contrats) sont en effet datés selon le système indictionnel hérité de l'Empire byzantin[16] ; quant aux lettres, elles ne sont que très exceptionnellement datées ou datables[17]. Le critère paléographique n'est pas toujours fiable, compte tenu de la diversité des styles et des écritures. Dans les éditions, on trouve plusieurs pratiques : certains éditeurs s'abstiennent de dater ; Till, quant à lui indique en général VII^e ou VIII^e siècle, mais sans donner de justification. Quelques documents sont datés de l'ère de l'Hégire, plutôt à partir de la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle[18] ; d'autres par l'ère des Martyrs (ou ère de Dioclétien). Jusqu'à récemment le plus ancien document copte fayoumique daté avec certitude était *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1226, daté de l'an 461 de l'ère des Martyrs, c'est-à-dire 745 de notre ère[19]. Et traditionnellement, la majorité des textes est datée, selon des critères externes (textes parallèles, présence de protocoles arabes, paléographie), de la deuxième moitié du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle[20]. La réédition de certains

archives de Papas. Papyrus coptes et grecs de la jarre d'Edfou », *BIFAO* 117, à paraître.

14 Documents publiés par Federico Morelli dans *CPR* XXX. Voir aussi *CPR* XXII.

15 BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw* , p. 24.

16 Datation par cycles fiscaux de quinze ans, appelés indictions ; voir voir BAGNALL Roger S. / WORP Klaas A., *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden / Boston, 2004², p. 15–35.

17 Certains éléments permettent parfois de dater indirectement ; voir par exemple GAREL, Esther, « Lettre concernant l'envoi d'un papyrus iatro-magique et une réquisition de laine de mouton (P.Vindob. Inv. K 55) », *JcoptS* 18, 2016, p. 45–55. Dans cette lettre est mentionné le calife al-Walīd ; or deux califes omeyyades portent ce nom : al-Walīd I (86–96/705–715) et al-Walīd II (124–125/743–744), ce qui donne comme *terminus post quem* pour la datation de cette lettre le règne d'un de ces deux personnages.

18 Voir par exemple *BKU* III 364, un contrat de vente à terme de vin daté de l'année 167 de l'Hégire, ie 783/784.

19 BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw*, p. 26.

20 Une seconde vague de texte du IX^e au XI^e présente une coloration dialectale moindre et une grande influence de l'arabe. Pour les quelques rares documents placés avant la conquête arabe, voir la liste

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documents de la collection de Vienne permet de préciser l'ambitus chronologique des documents fayoumiques, et notamment de placer les premiers documents datés plus tôt dans le VIIIe siècle.

CPR IV 29 (fig. 1, p. 212) est un document juridique qui mêle des formules propres aux reconnaissances de dette et d'autres propres aux ventes, ce qui faisait dire à Till qu'il s'agissait d'une vente de maison (ou d'une partie de maison) en remboursement d'une dette. Dans l'édition de référence figurait seulement la datation par l'année indictionnelle : « écrit le 12 du mois Pharmouthi de la […] onzième année de l'indiction ». Or, la dernière ligne du document, non déchiffrée par l'éditeur, donne une autre date par l'ère des martyrs, littéralement « an 429 de Dioclétien », ce qui permet de dater le document très précisément au 7 avril 713. Cette date est particulièrement importante, puisqu'elle permet non seulement de faire remonter la date du plus ancien document juridique écrit en dialecte fayoumique d'une trentaine d'année, mais fait aussi de *CPR* IV 29 le plus ancien document copte (en dehors des stèles funéraires) à porter une date par l'ère de Dioclétien. Jusqu'à présent, le premier papyrus copte publié à utiliser ce système datait de 720–721 (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 175)[21].

Il est aussi possible de dater certains documents de manière indirecte. C'est le cas de *CPR* IV 1 (fig. 2, p. 213) qui contient la fin d'un ordre, écrit en dialecte fayoumique, demandant un recensement d'artisans et d'arbres. Le document est daté du 25 Pachôn de la deuxième année de l'indiction, et ne porte pas d'indication de provenance. Le nom de l'expéditeur de l'ordre, qui devait se trouver au début du document, est perdu. Mais le papyrus est scellé en partie inférieure au moyen d'un sceau inscrit[22], celui de « Rāšid, confiant en Dieu », c'est-à-dire de Rāšid b. Ḫālid, un fonctionnaire arabe de la première moitié du VIIIe siècle[23]. Il fut vraisemblablement d'abord pagarque de l'Hérakléopolite, de 718 à 723, puis de l'Hermopolite de 724 à 731. Le même sceau apparaît au bas d'un *entagion* grec pour le paiement d'arriérés d'impôts dans l'Hérakléopolite (*CPR* XIX 26). Ce document est daté d'une seconde année de l'indiction, comme *CPR* IV 1. Selon Federico Morelli, l'éditeur du document grec, les deux documents sont à placer dans la même année indictionnelle, ce qui amène à dater notre document du 20 mai 719, au moment où Rāšid b. Ḫālid était pagarque de l'Hérakléopolite. Il est donc aussi possible d'attribuer une origine géographique à cet ordre, qui concorde avec l'emploi du dialecte fayoumique, dans le nome voisin de l'oasis.

dressée *ibidem*, n. 12.

21 La première utilisation de l'ère de Dioclétien pour dater les documents (dans les papyrus grecs) apparaît après la conquête arabe (656/657), et seulement dans les nomes arsinoïte et hérakléopolite jusqu'au VIIIe siècle. Le dernier papyrus grec à porter la mention d'une date par l'ère de Dioclétien date de l'année 436 (719/720) ; voir BAGNALL / WORP, *Chronological Systems*, p. 63–64.

22 Le sceau remplit une double fonction à cette époque : authentifier le document et garantir l'intégrité du résumé grec qui se trouve à la fin des ordres de paiement d'impôts, voir GROHMANN, Adolf, *Series Arabica* I. Teil 1 : *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri*. CPR III.1, Wien 1924, p. 82–83 ; DELATTRE, Alain / VANTHIEGHEM, Naïm, « Un ensemble archivistique trilingue à Strasbourg : un protocole et deux ordres de réquisition de la fin du VIIe siècle », dans J.-L. Fournet et A. Papaconstantinou, *Mélanges Jean Gascou. Textes et études papyrologiques* (*P.Gascou*), Paris 2016, p. 118.

23 Sur ce personnage, voir en dernier lieu SCHENKE, Gesa, « Rashid ibn Chaled and the Return of Overpayments », *CdE* 89, 2014, p. 202–209.

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Ainsi les plus anciens documents datés rédigés en dialecte fayoumique, aussi bien un contrat de droit privé (*CPR* IV 29) qu'un document officiel émanant de l'administration arabe (*CPR* IV 1), peuvent être placés une trentaine d'années plus tôt. Il est d'ailleurs peut-être symptomatique que les deux documents ainsi redatés proviennent du nome Hérakéopolite et non du Fayoum lui-même[24].

Dialecte

L'étude du dialecte fayoumique se caractérise d'emblée par un paradoxe : il est sans doute le plus anciennement attesté puisque certains textes littéraires écrits dans ce dialecte ont été datés de la fin du III^e^ ou du début IV^e^ siècle, tandis qu'il n'apparaît dans les papyrus documentaires qu'après la conquête arabe du milieu du VII^e^ siècle[25]. Avant cette date – et même un peu après, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, les documents administratifs et juridiques, dans la sphère privée comme dans la sphère officielle, sont rédigés en grec dans le Fayoum. Il est vrai que le phénomène n'est pas propre au Fayoum et que, dans l'ensemble de l'Égypte, le copte n'est utilisé que tardivement dans la sphère juridique et surtout après la conquête arabe ; avant cela, le copte est réservé à la sphère privée et il est largement employé, dès le IV^e^ siècle, puis massivement à partir de la fin du VI^e^ siècle, pour les lettres. Or, là encore, très peu proviennent du Fayoum avant la conquête arabe[26].

Il n'est pas facile d'apprécier l'économie linguistique d'un texte, dans la mesure où on ne possède pas de véritable grammaire du dialecte fayoumique[27]. Par ailleurs, la coloration dialectale des textes est sujette à d'importantes variations. Bien que l'aspect non-standard de la langue soit commun à tous les textes documentaires[28], cette tendance est particulièrement frappante pour les textes fayoumiques et avait été notée par les premiers éditeurs[29]. La réapparition tardive du dialecte dans les documents explique peut-être que les particularités locales se soient maintenues de manière plus forte. Cette variété était cependant immédiatement teintée de connotations péjoratives[30]. Crum et Till, avaient

24 Le grec s'est pourtant maintenu particulièrement longtemps dans cette région où l'on trouve encore des contrats privés rédigés en grec jusque dans les années 720.

25 BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw*, p. 26.

26 Il faut être prudent car nous ne connaissons pas la provenance de beaucoup de lettres et qu'un grand nombre de lettres écrites en dialecte fayoumique sont encore inédites.

27 Il faut noter que le fayoumique est inclu dans la *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* de Walter C. TILL (München, 1931), mais cette dernière s'appuie surtout sur les textes littéraires.

28 Voir l'étude de Paul E. KAHLE sur la langue des textes non littéraires, dans *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (*P.Bala'izah*), London, 1954, p. 48–192 (chap. VIII). Cette étude fait encore référence pour les textes sahidiques documentaires ; voir aussi plus récemment BOUD'HORS, Anne, « Dialectes et régionalismes : la langue des textes coptes documentaires », dans V. Brugnatelli / M. Lafkioui (éd.), *Written sources about Africa and their study*, Milan, Académie Ambrosienne, à paraître.

29 STERN, *ZÄS* 23, p. 25 : « es finden sich kaum einige Stücke, deren Dialekt oder Schreibweise genau die nämliche wären » ; SIMON, Jean, « Notes sur les textes fayoumiques », *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 37, 1939, p. 210 : « Ces textes non littéraires montrent encore mieux que les autres quelle étonnante variété il y avait dans les parlers locaux et individuels qui ont été groupés sous le nom de fayoumique ».

30 STERN, *ZÄS* 23, p. 25 : « Ihre Sprache ist nicht die gemessene der Bibel, sondern nähert sich der des täglichen Verkehrs – incorrect in der Aussprache, sorglos und unruhig im Satzbau und mit fremdartigen

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introduit respectivement dans leurs éditions les notions de dialecte « pur »[31] et de fayoumique « vulgaire »[32], faisant référence à une norme qui n'existe pas pour les textes documentaires. Même le document écrit dans le fayoumique le plus « pur » n'atteint jamais le degré de standardisation des textes littéraires.

À titre d'exemple, voici un texte (*SBKopt.* I 280, fig. 3, p. 214) qui, compte tenu de certains écarts par rapport à la norme littéraire du dialecte, présente une coloration dialectale cohérente[33] :

✝ ϩⲉⲙ ⲡⲗⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ ⲛϣⲁⲣⲉⲡ ⲑⲏⲣⲏⲛⲓ ⲛⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ(ⲓ)
ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧϫⲁⲓⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ-
ⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ(ⲓ) ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲗⲱⲙⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲕⲁⲛ-
ⲥⲁⲭⲁ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲏ ϫⲉ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲁ
ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓ ⲗⲁⲃ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ϣⲟⲡⲉ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲁ-
ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲕ(ⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ) ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲁϩⲁ ϣⲟⲡⲉ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉⲓ
ⲛⲟⲩϣⲉϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ ⲗⲁⲃ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉⲓ
ⲙⲁⲃ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲓ ⲗⲁⲃ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲥϩⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲓ-
ⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲙⲉ ⲑⲏ ⲛϣⲁⲗⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ(ⲓ) ⲥⲉⲧ
ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲯⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲟⲩϫⲉⲓ ϩⲉⲙ ⲡϭⲥ ✝

« Au nom de Dieu d'abord. La paix de Dieu à ta Seigneurie fraternelle et noble, selon toutes les vertus de Dieu et des hommes. Après cela, le *kansacha* m'a dit que tu étais dans cet état, (à dire) : "Nous allons sûrement nous embarquer pour aller le voir". Alors si tu commandes que je vienne et que je m'incline devant le Maître (*i.e.* devant toi), informe m'en et je viendrai. Et si tu ordonnes encore une chose, informe m'en aussi. Quoi que tu ordonnes, informe m'en. Ordonne et écris-moi de tes nouvelles et la manière dont Dieu sauve ton âme. Par cette lettre, salut dans le Seigneur ».

Pour étudier les caractéristiques dialectales de ce texte, je reprends la liste des faits linguistiques caractéristiques des textes coptes fayoumiques[34] :

1. Traits communs aux textes littéraires et documentaires :

– le lambdacisme souvent donné comme la caractéristique principale du fayoumique (l. 1 : ⲗⲉⲛ / S ⲣⲁⲛ ; l. 3 ⲗⲱⲙⲓ / S ⲣⲱⲙⲉ).
– vocalisme dans la syllabe accentuée : ⲉ pour ⲁ (l. 7 : ϣⲉϫⲓ / S ϣⲁϫⲉ ; l. 10 ⲥϩⲉⲓ / S ⲥϩⲁⲓ) ; ⲁ pour ⲟ (l. 1 : ϣⲁⲣⲉⲡ ; l. 2 : ⲥⲁⲛ ; l. 6–8 : ⲧⲁⲙⲁ / S ⲧⲁⲙⲟ)

Wörter und Wortformen förmlich gespickt ».

31 Dans *Coptic Manuscripts Brought from the Fayyum by W.M. Flinders Petrie, Esq., D.C.L., Together with a Papyrus in the Bodleian Library* (*P.Fay.Copt.*), London, 1893, Walter E. CRUM caractérise la langue de certains textes comme suit : « The Dialect is purely M.E. », ne faisant pas encore de différence entre le fayoumique et le moyen-égyptien (voir par exemple *P.Fay.Copt.* 16, 26, 28).

32 C'est ainsi que TILL caractérise la langue de certains documents fayoumiques édités dans les *Koptische Rechtsurkunden*. CPR IV, p. xiii : « vulg. F. » (cf. par exemple *CPR* IV 62, 64, 65).

33 Je propose ici une nouvelle traduction de cette lettre qui est en cours de réédition.

34 BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw*, p. 54–55.

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– vocalisme ⲓ de la finale non accentuée (l. 3 : ⲗⲱⲙⲓ / S ⲣⲱⲙⲉ)
– ⲙⲉⲧ comme préfixe de nom abstrait (l. 2 : ⲙⲉⲧϫⲁⲓⲥ / S ⲙⲛⲧϫⲁⲓⲥ)
– ⲉ devant consonnes en syllabe non accentuée (l. 1 : ϣⲁⲣⲉⲡ, ϩⲉⲙ / surligne en S)
– ϫⲁⲓⲥ « seigneur » (l. 2), mais compendium ⲡϭⲥ, comme en bohaïrique (l. 10)

2. Traits propres aux textes documentaires :
– forme ⲙⲉ de la préposition ⲙⲛ̄, « et ».
– ⲉ comme morphème introduisant le génitif ou l'adjectif (l. 1 : ⲡⲗⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ / S ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)
– tendance à l'apocope (l. 5 : ⲗⲁⲃ / S ⲉⲣⲟϥ)
– tendance (non généralisée) à la neutralisation de la différence ⲟ/ⲱ (l. 5 : ϣⲟⲡⲉ / S ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ)
– emploi de la conjonction de coordination ⲁϩⲁ, « et » (l. 6)[35].

3. Quelques bizarreries de ce texte :
– Forme ⲉ du statif du verbe ⲉⲓⲣⲉ (l. 4)[36].
– ⲡⲕⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲁ : ce terme fait partie des mots fayoumiques difficilement identifiables. Il faut sans doute le rapprocher du sahidique ⲥⲁϫⲟ, qui désigne un scribe de village[37], précédé de la forme construite F de l'adjectif ⲕⲟⲩⲓ, « petit » ; il pourrait s'agir ici d'un « petit *sachô* », un jeune ou un apprenti (une forme ⲕⲁⲛⲍⲁϫⲁ est attestée dans *P.Lond.* I 609).

Il est rare qu'un texte soit aussi cohérent du point de vue du dialecte. Plus un texte présente de caractéristiques mentionnées ci-dessus en *1.* et *2.*, plus il se rapproche d'un fayoumique que Crum qualifiait de « pur ». Mais les écarts sont très nombreux, soit par un mélange avec des formes sahidiques, soit par l'emploi de formes qui apparaissent comme « sauvages ». Il existe en réalité une infinité de nuances et chaque texte a sa propre économie.

La description du dialecte s'est jusqu'à présent surtout concentrée sur la phonologie, ainsi que sur quelques aspects de morphologie. Les domaines qui restent encore largement à explorer sont ceux de la syntaxe et du lexique. Certains mots ne sont attestés qu'en fayoumique, et le contexte n'aide pas toujours à la compréhension. Dans *CPR* IV 88 par exemple, un contrat de prêt sur gage (ou un reçu pour le prix d'objets mis en gage), trois objets sont mentionnés. Le nom du premier objet est en lacune et les deux autres sont désignés comme ⲧⲁⲗⲱⲕⲉ (*talôke)* et ⲡϩⲁⲣⲁ (*p-hara)*. Ces deux termes ne sont pas attestés

35 Forme attestée dans le dialecte littéraire archaïque F7 (ⲁⲩⲱ dans les deux autres variétés littéraires F4 et F5), cf. KASSER, Rolodphe, « A standard system of sigle for referring to the dialects of Coptic », *JCoptStud* 1, 1990, p. 146–147.

36 Ce n'est pas la seule attestation de cette forme, voir aussi *P.Lond.Copt.* I 582, 2.7 : ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ, « tu n'es pas sans savoir… » ; voir aussi la forme ⲁⲓ$^{+}$ phonétiquement identique dans GAREL, *JCoptStud* 18, 2016, p. 45–55.

37 CRUM, Walter E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, p. 384b. Le terme vient de *sẖ ʿ3* « grand scribe », mais le sens de ce mot en copte n'est pas tout à fait clair ; dans certains documents, il semble être plutôt un titre ecclésiastique, cf. BERKES, Lajos, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden*, Wiesbaden 2017, p. 138, n. 96.

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par ailleurs dans la documentation copte ni même dans la littérature. Il est parfois difficile de décider si ces mots ont des équivalents dans les autres dialectes ou s'ils désignent des réalités propres au fayoumique[38].

Apport pour l'histoire institutionnelle et sociale

1. Domaine privé

Tous les types de textes sont représentés dans la documentation fayoumique : contrats de vente, de prêt (ou reconnaissances de dette), de vente à terme, de location, contrats de travail, reçus de paiement, listes. Mais ce sont les lettres privées qui forment la très grande majorité de la documentation. Elles sont aussi les plus difficiles à éditer, car elles n'ont pas l'aspect formulaire des contrats ou des documents administratifs. Il faut aussi noter qu'à partir d'une certaine époque l'influence de l'épistolographie arabe se fait sentir[39].

Certains types de documents sont spécifiques au Fayoum ou à ses environs. L'un d'eux est le contrat de cession de travailleur. Une dizaine d'exemples de ce type de contrat de travail a été conservée, dans lesquels une communauté (en général un village) loue l'un des siens comme travailleur à un individu pour une durée donnée, en général un an. Le travailleur est désigné par le terme ⲗⲉⲃⲉⲕⲏ en fayoumique, terme formé sur le mot ⲃⲉⲕⲉ, « salaire ». Le salaire ne revient pas au travailleur (qui n'est pas partie contractante mais bien objet du contrat), mais à la communauté qui l'a cédé. La plupart des exemples de ce type de contrat sont rédigés en fayoumique : sept textes viennent du Fayoum ou de l'Héraklépolite[40], deux de l'Hermopolite[41], un de l'Oxyrhynchite[42]. Dans plusieurs cas, cette situation semble liée au paiement de l'impôt, le salaire du travailleur servant à payer l'une ou l'autre des taxes incombant au village[43]. Ces documents semblent donc être des réponses à une situation de crise, lorsqu'une communauté avait besoin d'argent, ce qui expliquerait qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'un type documentaire bien fixé – le formulaire est fluctuant d'un document à l'autre – et que son usage ait eu une portée géographique limitée. Ainsi, comme pour la langue, se dessine une aire commune plus large que l'oasis du Fayoum, qui inclut aussi le nord de la Moyenne-Égypte.

Les aspects matériels et diplomatiques des documents fayoumiques restent aussi largement à exploiter ; l'étude du formulaire, des formats, de la mise en page, de la paléographie peuvent nous renseigner sur de possibles dossiers, archives ou *scriptoria*. Sophie Kovarik a déjà montré que les documents grecs de l'Arsinoïte des VI^{e}–VII^{e} avaient très souvent un format particulier : ils sont plus larges que hauts, contrairement aux

38 Voir l'exemple du *lefpôshn* ci-dessous.

39 Sur l'épistolographie arabe, voir GROB, Eva M., *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus*, APF Beihefte 29, Berlin / New York, 2010.

40 *CPR* IV 169, 172, 173, 174a, 174b ; Louvre E 7395, publié dans BOUD'HORS / CALAMENT, dans Kaplony / Potthast / Römer, *From Bāwīṭ to Marw*, p. 46–50.

41 *CPR* IV 170 ; texte n° 6 dans TURAEV, Boris A., *Koptskie teksty priobretennye ekspediciej pok. V. G. Boka v Egipte*, Moskau 1902.

42 *CPR* IV 171. Je prépare actuellement une réédition de cet ensemble de documents assortie d'un commentaire qui tente d'expliquer les ressorts économiques d'une telle pratique.

43 Voir notamment *CPR* IV 170, où le salaire est dit être reçu « au titre du *diagraphon* », c'est-à-dire la taxe de capitation.

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documents d'autres régions agencés en format vertical[44] (voir notamment *CPR* IV 126, un contrat de location de champ de l'Arsinoïte, fig. 4, p. 215). La catégorie de documents de petit format, utilisant un formulaire plus concis qu'ailleurs – ceci serait dû au type de transactions qui y sont enregistrées et à la classe sociale de ceux qui les contractent, le plus souvent des paysans, des ouvriers ou des marchands[45] – est très opérante pour la documentation copte. Les actes notariés de droit privé sont en effet souvent très brefs, ne conservant que les informations essentielles[46]. Par ailleurs, il est frappant de voir que certains actes notariés fayoumiques sont de format carré, ou quasiment carré, dans la mesure où l'état de conservation du papyrus permet de reconstruire ses dimensions d'origine. C'est le cas de *CPR* IV 86 (23 x 20 cm) un contrat de vente à terme, *CPR* IV 29 vente d'une partie de maison (28 x 24 cm), *CPR* IV 169, un contrat de cession de travailleur (24 x 20 cm), ou encore *SBKopt.* I 280, la lettre mentionnée ci-dessus (12 x 14 cm, fig. 3, p. 214).

Les actes notariés coptes dans leur ensemble doivent beaucoup à leurs équivalents grecs sur lesquels ils sont modelés. Dans beaucoup de ces documents d'ailleurs, le grec se maintient dans certaines parties formulaires (date, résumé numérique, souscriptions) ; il reste la langue de la comptabilité. La conscience d'écrire du grec est encore forte puisque le plus souvent, le rédacteur adopte un style différent[47] quand il change de langue. L'usage du grec était une garantie supérieure de validité de l'acte enregistré (c'est aussi le cas dans les textes juridiques provenant d'autres régions que le Fayoum).

L'étude approfondie des textes fayoumiques est aussi riche d'enseignement pour les questions de toponymie ou d'anthroponymie. Certains anthroponymes semblent en effet propres au Fayoum ou aux régions limitrophes : c'est le cas du nom ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩⲗⲉ. Ce nom est systématiquement orthographié par les éditeurs en deux mots : ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲟⲩⲗⲉ (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲟⲩⲗⲓ en fayoumique). Il a déjà été démontré par Tomasz Derda et Ewa Wipzycka que certains anthroponymes (Nakios, Sirios, Hôl, Dios, Kyros…) précédés du titre *apa* étaient en réalité à comprendre comme un seul nom (Apanakios, Apasirios, Apaôl, Apadios, Apakyros…), devenu forme figée, souvent en raison du culte d'un saint, local ou plus répandu[48]. Les auteurs postulaient le même phénomène pour Apaioulios/Apaiouli, renvoyant à un martyr du temps de Dioclétien[49].

44 KOVARIK, Sophie, *Das spätantike Notariat. Kanzleipraxis des 4.–8. Jh. n. u. Z. am Beispiel Arsinoites (Mittelägypten)*, thèse inédite, Wien, 2014, p. 168.

45 *Ibidem*, p. 161.

46 C'est notamment le cas des contrats de location de terrain, élément qui a été souligné par T.S. Richter dans son mémoire d'habilitation (inédit) : ils sont généralement plus courts que ceux d'autres régions (Hermopolite) ; les conditions de location et la description du terrain loué sont très réduites : pas de mention de surface, ni même de localisation dans certains cas; ils ne peuvent pas être rattachés à un formulaire grec ; ils emploient un mot particulier pour désigner le loyer : ϣⲟⲙ.

47 Sur la notion de style en paléographie, voir FOURNET, Jean-Luc, « P.Stras. V 318 complété : la grande philoponia d'Héracléopolis et les protocoles en cursive inclinée » dans Hoogendijk, F.A.J. / Muhs, B.P. (éds.), *Sixty-five Papyrological Texts Presented to Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (*P.Worp*). P.L.Bat. 33, Leiden / Boston, 2008, p. 248 n. 28.

48 DERDA, Tomasz / WIPSZYCKA, Ewa, « Les titres *Abba, Apa et Papas* dans l'Égypte byzantine », *JJP* 24, 1994, p. 50–54.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 53.

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En y regardant de plus près, les attestations du nom dans les papyrus grecs datent des VII^e^–VIII^e^ siècles et proviennent essentiellement de l'Arsinoïte et de l'Hérakléopolite, auxquelles il faut ajouter quelques exemples du nome Memphite[50], dont un papyrus provenant du monastère de saint-Jérémie de Saqqara. En copte, les exemples sont aussi principalement de l'Arsinoïte, de l'Hérakléopolite et de l'Oxyrhynchite[51]. L'origine du nom est bien à chercher dans l'hagiographie et les noms de martyrs. Il existe deux martyrs distincts qui portaient le nom de Ioulios/Ioule : un martyr Apaioule mort sous Dioclétien, originaire d'un village de l'Hérakléopolite[52] dont on conserve la passion en copte sahidique, mais qui est absent du synaxaire arabe. Tito Orlandi proposait une date de composition au VII^e^ siècle, sans doute trop haute[53]. Par ailleurs, le synaxaire arabe commémore Jules d'Aqfahs, hagiographe des martyrs sous Dioclétien, avant de devenir lui-même martyr au début du règne de Constantin[54]. Un lieu de culte placé sous le vocable de ce saint aurait été situé à Aqfahs, entre Hérakléopolis et Oxyrhynchos[55]. Il est représenté dans une des peintures de Baouit, comme ⲟ ⲁⲅⲓ̈ⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲗⲓ̈ⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲱⲙⲉⲧⲁⲣⲏⲥⲓ̈ⲟⲥ, « le saint apa Ioulios, le "greffier" (*commentariensis*) » des martyrs. Le saint n'avait aucun lien de fonction avec la laure d'Apollô, cette peinture étant seulement un témoignage de la dévotion des moines[56]. C'est sans doute le culte de ces deux martyrs qui explique la popularité de l'anthroponyme Apaioule dans une aire géographique assez précise.

2. Domaine officiel et institutionnel

Outre les contrats privés, des documents à caractère officiel ont aussi été préservés ; ils concernent pour l'essentiel le domaine fiscal : ordres de paiement, lettres de rappel, lettres circulaires, etc. En ce sens, les documents fayoumiques contribuent aussi à l'histoire de l'administration et des institutions, particulièrement s'ils sont mis en relation avec les documents écrits dans les deux autres langues de la documentation papyrologique, le grec et l'arabe. Les études de prosopographie, de toponymie ou de chronologie, qui croisent ces différents types de sources, permettent de comprendre le fonctionnement de l'administration locale et d'identifier les fonctionnaires actifs dans le courant du VIII^e^ siècle[57].

50 *SPP* X 295–299.

51 On trouve aussi quelques attestations dans les documentations des monastères de saint-Jérémie de Saqqara, de Baouît et de Deir Bala'izah; voir HASITZKA, Monika, *Namen in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, 2007.

52 *Coptic Encyclopedia* I, p. 153.

53 PAPACONSTANTINOU, Arietta, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs*, Paris, 2001, p. 107. En effet si la forme du nom dans le récit de la passion est déjà figée en Apaioule, la date de composition doit être tardive.

54 O'LEARY, De Lacy, *The Saints of Egypt,* Amsterdam, 1974, p. 174–175.

55 PAPACONSTANTINOU, *Le culte des saints*, p. 107.

56 CLÉDAT, Jean, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouit* (édité par D. Bénazeth et M.-H. Rutschowscaya. *O. Bawit)*. MIFAO 111, Le Caire 1999, p. 159.

57 Voir notamment les articles de WORP, Klaas A., « Studien zu spätgriechischen, koptischen und arabischen Papyri », *BSAC* 26, 1984, p. 99–107 ; GONIS, Nikolaos, « Another Look at Some Officials in Early 'Abbasid Egypt », *ZPE* 149, 2004, p. 189–195 ; « Reconsidering some fiscal documents from early Islamic Egypt III », *ZPE* 169 (2009), p. 197–208 ; GAREL, Esther / VANTHIEGHEM, Naïm,

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Les titres et les noms de fonctions des responsables administratifs diffèrent parfois, dans les documents fayoumiques, de ceux employés dans les autres régions : l'enjeu est de savoir s'il s'agit de réalités propres au Fayoum ou simplement de désignations différentes pour les mêmes réalités[58]. Ainsi le titre *lefpôshn* (ⲗⲉⲃⲡⲱϣⲛ ou ⲗⲉⲙⲡⲱϣⲛ), dont le nombre d'attestations s'élève maintenant à une petite quinzaine, est-il encore mal connu[59]. Composé du préfixe des noms d'agents ⲗⲉⲃ ou ⲗⲉⲙ- (S ⲣⲉϥ- ou ⲣⲙ-) et du verbe ⲡⲱϣⲛ, il est l'équivalent sémantique du grec λειτουργός et désigne un fonctionnaire villageois dont les attributions sont encore floues[60]. Il apparaît parfois en contexte fiscal[61], et en deux occasions au moins, on rencontre le terme au pluriel pour une même localité, ce qui laisse penser qu'il pouvait s'agir d'une charge collégiale[62]. Son rôle précis reste à identifier ainsi qu'un éventuel équivalent dans les autres régions, s'il ne s'agit pas d'une fonction propre au Fayoum. Le verbe ⲡⲱϣⲛ, « servir » (au sens du service religieux), est employé dans les Nombres, notamment dans la version bohaïrique, pour désigner le service du tabernacle de Dieu. On peut alors faire l'hypothèse d'une évolution vers un sens administratif. Ce n'est pas le premier exemple : voir le grec ἱερεύς, qui de « prêtre » en est venu à désigner à l'époque tardive un responsable administratif villageois en Moyenne-Égypte[63]. Il est aussi possible de comparer cette évolution sémantique à celle du mot ⲗⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ, qui s'il dérive bien du *lesônis* égyptien, désigne dans les textes coptes un responsable de village, l'équivalent du protocomète grec[64]. Or ce mot n'est attesté qu'en Haute-Égypte. Il est alors tentant de penser que le terme ⲗⲉⲃⲡⲱϣⲛ aurait connu une évolution similaire dans une aire géographique limitée.

La question de la répartition des langues dans la communication entre les différents degrés de l'administration à l'époque arabe est cruciale quand on étudie des dossiers multilingues. Qui écrit à qui et dans quelle langue[65] ? Dans quelles conditions le dialecte fayoumique était-il utilisé pour les communications officielles ?

« Nouveaux textes sur les pagarques du Fayoum au VIII[e] siècle », dans L. Berkes (éd.), *Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt. A Papyrological Perspective*, à paraître.

58 J'ai traité de ce problème concernant le titre fayoumique *piakou*, équivalent du diacre : « Le titre ⲠⲒⲀⲔⲞⲨ dans les documents coptes fayoumiques », dans M. Nowak, *Tell me who you are. Labelling status in Graeco-Roman world*. Studia źróloznawcze. U schyłku starożytności [= Late Antiquity: Studies in Source Criticism] 16, 2017, à paraître.

59 Cf. GAREL, Esther, « Titres et fonctions dans les documents coptes fayoumiques », dans A. Boud'hors / C. Louis (éd.), *Dix-huitième journée d'éudes coptes, Bruxelles 22–24 juin 2017*, à paraître.

60 Voir *CPR* IV 18 où chaque *lefpôshn* est attaché à une localité.

61 *CPR* IV 22c ; P.Vindob. inv. G 12172, à paraître dans GAREL / VANTHIEGHEM, « Nouveaux textes sur les pagarques du Fayoum » ; P.Mich.inv. 5564r.

62 Voir *CPR* IV 205, 2–3; *CPR* II 15, 1.

63 Voir *P.Sorb.* II, p. 69 ; BERKES, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft*, p. 122–125.

64 BERKES, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft*, p. 83–84.

65 C'est particulièrement vrai pour les archives bilingues, telles que celle du pagarque Papas à Edfou et de celle de Basilios à Aphroditô. Sur ce sujet, voir RICHTER, Tonio Sebastian, « Language choice in the Qurra Dossier », dans A. Papaconstantinou, *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, Farnham / Burlington, 2010, p. 189–220 ; RICHTER, Tonio Sebastian, « 'An unseren Herrn, den allberühmten Korra, den herrlichsten Gouverneur, durch Dich, glorreichster Herr Basilios, Pagarch von Djkow mit seinen Gehöften'. Verwaltung und Verwaltungssprachen Ägyptens im 8. Jh. nach den Qurra-Papyri », in F. Feder / A. Lohwasser (éd.), *Vom Regierungsantritt Diokletians 284/285*

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Je reprends ici l'exemple de *CPR* IV 1 (fig. 2), un ordre scellé (σίγιλλιον) du pagarque de l'Hérakléopolite, Rāšid b. Ḫālid, demandant un recensement d'artisans et d'arbres[66] : « Au sujet de la liste de tous les artisans adultes, dressez-la-nous comme suit : "untel fils d'untel de tel village qui exerce tel artisanat". Au sujet des jeunes artisans qui ont été confiés aux maîtres pour apprendre les artisanats : dressez-nous aussi leur liste selon le même modèle et le nom des artisans auprès desquels ils sont. Au sujet de la liste de tous les palmiers qui ont poussé, qu'ils portent des fruits ou non, faites-en-nous la liste et montrez-nous quels sont ceux des églises parmi eux. Au sujet de la liste de tous les acacias qui sont scellés, écrivez-les-nous et faites-nous apparaître quels sont parmi eux ceux des églises » (l. 11–20).

Ce document est à replacer dans le cadre des réquisitions en hommes, ici en ouvriers spécialisés, et en matériaux de construction, particulièrement le bois, effectuées par les autorités pour la construction de bateaux et de la nouvelle capitale, Fūsṭaṭ. Le montant très élevé de l'amende prévue en cas de non respect de l'ordre (100 *nomismata*) montre à quel point ce type de recensements était important pour les autorités arabes, car ils leur permettaient ensuite de fixer le montant des contributions fiscales et des réquisitions. L'identité des destinataires n'est pas conservée, mais l'emploi de la deuxième personne du pluriel laisse penser qu'ils étaient multiples ; on a peut-être affaire à un de ces ordres circulaires où le pagarque s'adresse à « tous les villages » de sa circonscription et dont des exemples nous sont conservés par d'autres documents[67]. Une étude serrée du vocabulaire de ce texte fait apparaître de nombreux emprunts grecs, pour l'essentiel des termes techniques, rarement employés dans les documents coptes, pour certains même des *hapax legomena*[68]. Vu la rareté de ce type de document officiel en copte, on peut faire l'hypothèse que le rédacteur a utilisé un modèle grec et a emprunté les mots grecs techniques. Un document de même type a d'ailleurs pu être identifié dans le dossier de la correspondance du gouverneur Qurra b. Šarīk avec le pagarque d'Aphroditô Basilios[69]. Dans cette lettre, datée du 23 janvier 710, le gouverneur demande à Basilios de recruter des apprentis et de les placer auprès d'artisans spécialisés dans la construction et le calfatage des bateaux.

Il est notable qu'un document officiel d'une telle ampleur, émanant du bureau d'un fonctionnaire de l'administration arabe, soit écrit non seulement en copte, mais encore en dialecte fayoumique. On a là l'une des preuves que le fayoumique n'était pas réservé à un usage privé, mais qu'un officiel, arabe de surcroît, pouvait l'utiliser pour communiquer avec ses subordonnés. C'était déjà le cas pour les ordres de paiement d'impôt (*entagia*) adressés par le pagarque aux contribuables, qui étaient jusqu'à présent considérés comme les seuls documents administratifs à être écrits en copte à un niveau de l'administration plus élevé que celui du village ; ces documents montrent que les chancelleries des pagarques au

bis zur arabischen Eroberung des Vorderen Orients um 635–646. Akten der Tagung vom 7.–9.7.2011, Wiesbaden, 2013, p. 121–138.

66 Sur ce document, voir GAREL, Esther, « Une demande de recensement du pagarque Rāšid b. Ḫālid : *CPR* IV 1 revisité », *CdE* 93, 2018, à paraître.

67 *CPR* IV 22c ou *BKU* III 445. Voir aussi BERKES, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft*, p. 234–237.

68 C'est le cas de καταγιγνώσκειν (l. 4), σκάριφος (l. 14; voir la note), τάσσειν (l. 17) ou σαφηνίζειν (l. 17).

69 Il s'agit de *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 6 (= *P.Lond.* IV 1391) qui emploie les mêmes termes techniques que le document copte.

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VIII^e siècle n'utilisent pas seulement le grec et l'arabe, mais aussi le copte[70]. Pour autant, avec les *entagia*, on a affaire à des documents brefs, formulaires et standardisés, dans lesquels les seules variables sont souvent le nom du contribuable, son origine, le nom de l'impôt et son montant. *CPR* IV 1 fait preuve d'un degré d'élaboration bien plus grand et d'une coloration dialectale marquée. C'est à ma connaissance le seul document de ce genre dans la documentation copte[71]. Il est vrai qu'il nous manque souvent ce pan de la correspondance dans les archives des pagarques tels que Basilios à Aphroditô ou Papas à Edfou – elles ne contiennent que les documents adressés au pagarque par ses administrés –, ce que Sebastian Richter appelle « the dark side of the moon »[72]. Le corpus des documents fayoumiques, par sa nature même de matériel de dépotoir plutôt que d'archives constituées, a peut-être beaucoup à apporter de ce côté-là.

Conclusion

L'étude des documents fayoumiques soulève sans doute encore plus de questions qu'elle n'en résoud. Mais le travail minutieux d'édition et de réédition des textes permet d'obtenir des progrès substantiels. La chronologie des textes fayoumiques peut être précisée : certains documents, non seulement des contrats privés, mais aussi des documents administratifs officiels, sont moins tardifs qu'on ne le pensait et datent du premier tiers du VIII^e siècle. La publication du corpus de lettres fayoumiques inédites est indispensable à une meilleure connaissance de la langue vernaculaire employée dans ces documents ; chacune d'entre elles apporte son lot de nouveautés. Une étude comparative des contrats privés et de leurs aspects matériels devrait permettre d'identifier des scribes ou des archives. De même, les travaux d'anthroponymie et de toponymie peuvent permettre de dégager des groupements de textes, autour d'une même personne ou d'un même village. Enfin les documents officiels, bien qu'ils soient moins nombreux que les documents privés, constituent une pierre supplémentaire à l'édifice de la connaissance de l'administration du pays pendant les deux premiers siècles de la domination arabe ; mis en regard des textes grecs et arabes, ils apportent souvent des précisions sur la datation ou le rôle de tel ou tel fonctionnaire, et sont essentiels à la compréhension des stratégies de communication au sein de l'administration locale.

70 RICHTER, « Verwaltung und Verwaltungssprachen », dans Feder / Lohwasser (éd.), *Vom Regierungsantritt Diokletians*, p. 126–127 et p. 131. Les *entagia* coptes sont essentiellement attestés dans la région d'Ašmūnayn (nome hermopolite) et sont écrits en sahidique (voir DELATTRE, Alain, « Cinq *entagia* coptes », *APF* 54, 2008, p. 79–86.

71 Les quelques autres documents fayoumiques émanant du bureau du pagarque sont eux aussi de petit format : cf. *CPR* IV 22c, P.Vindob.inv. K 44 (ré)édités dans GAREL / VANTHIEGHEM, « Nouveaux textes sur les pagarques du Fayoum » ; *BKU* III 445 est trop fragmentaire pour que l'on puisse juger de sa longueur. *CPR* IV 2, qui contient la fin d'un ordre en copte et une liste de χωρία en grec, appartient aussi à ce type de document scellé (σιγίλλιον), mais le texte copte est trop endommagé pour comprendre réellement de quoi il s'agit.

72 RICHTER, « Language choice in the Qurra Dossier », dans Papaconstantinou, *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt*, p. 217.

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Fig. 1 : P.Vindob.inv. K 1332 = *CPR* IV 29 (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1:2)

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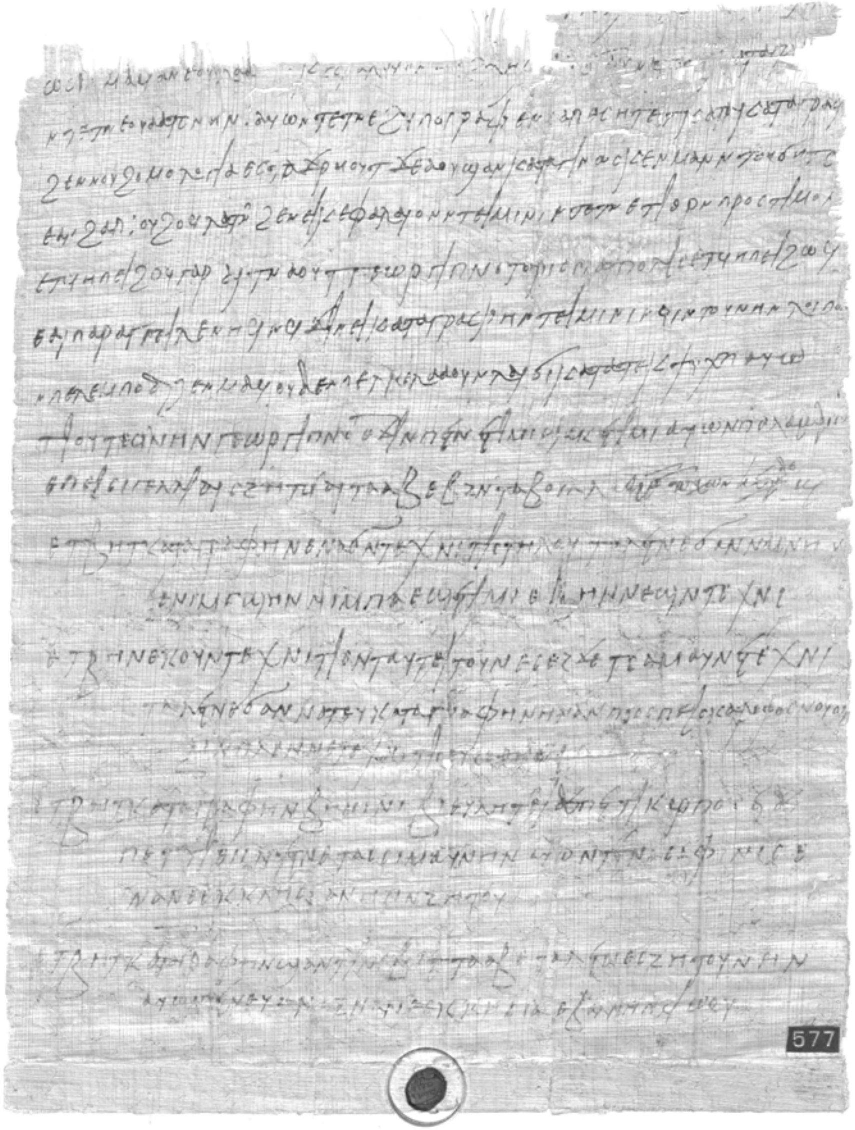


Fig. 2 : P.Vindob.inv. K 8313 = *CPR* IV 1 (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1:2)

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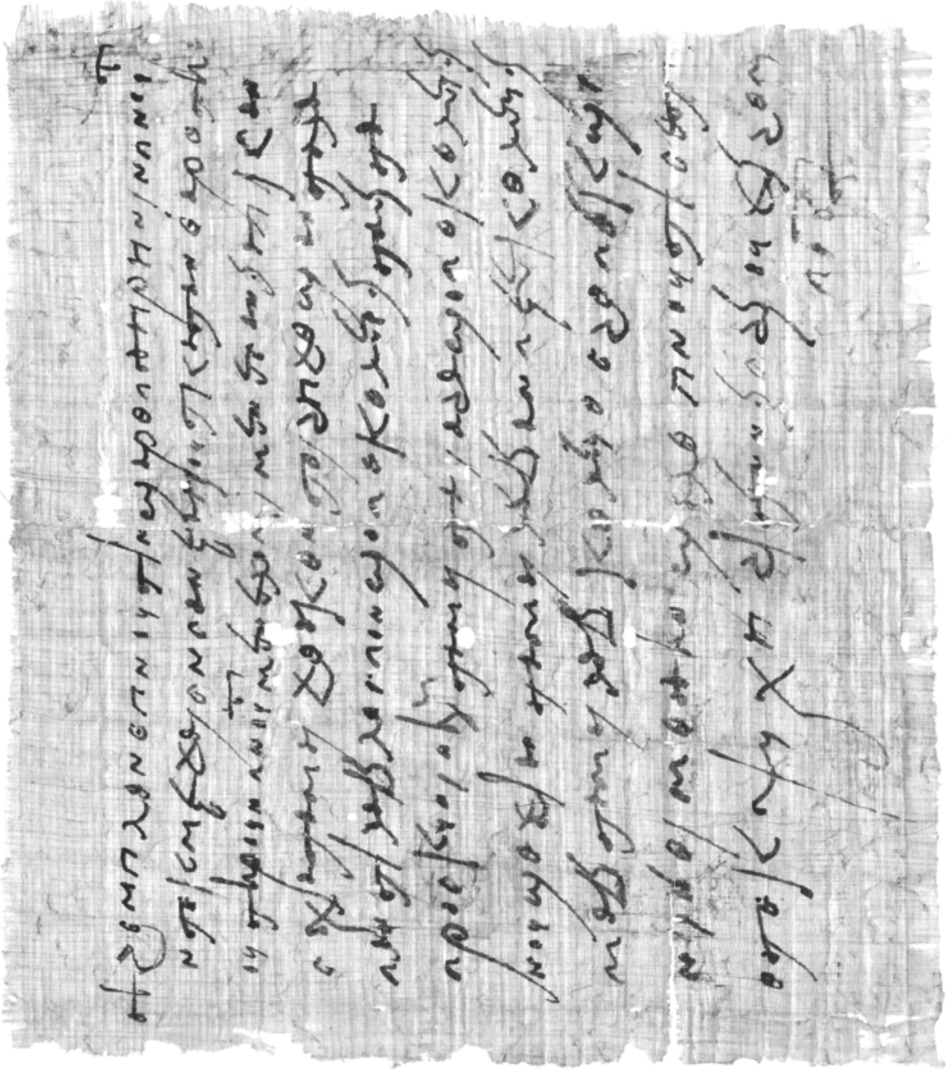


Fig. 3 : P. Vindob.inv. K 74 = *SBKopt.* I 280 (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1:1)

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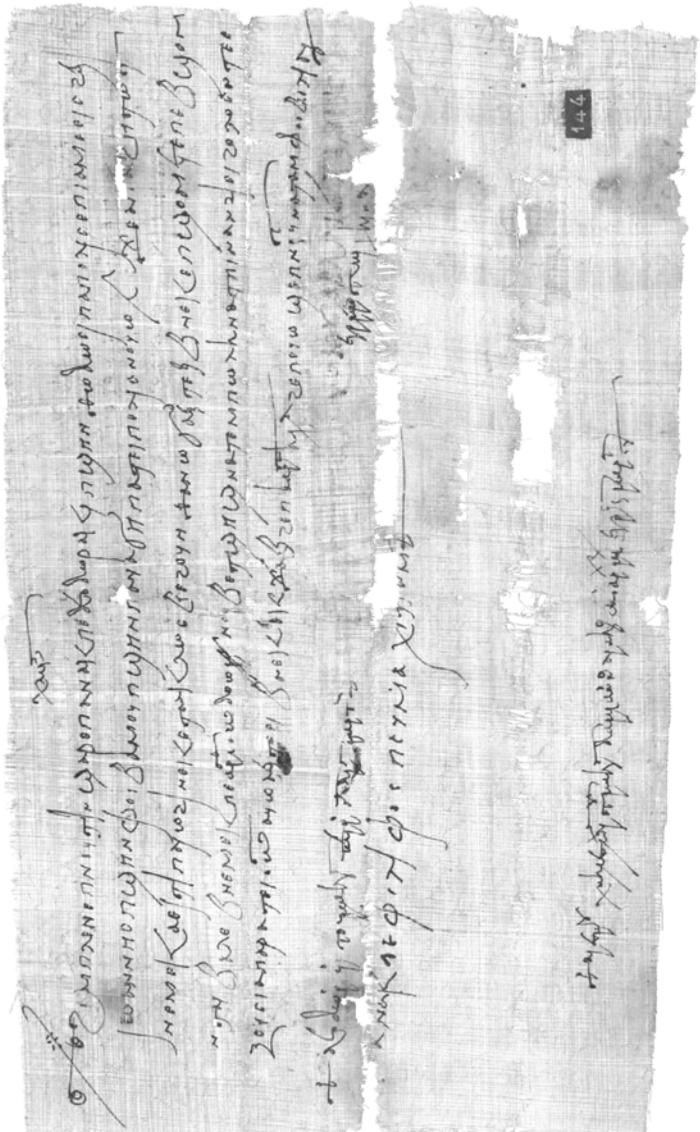


Fig. 4 : P.Vindob.inv. K 3003 = *CPR* IV 126 (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1:2)

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The monastic settlement in Naqlun at a time of important political and social transformation in the 7th century

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Events in the first half of the 7th century in Egypt triggered political and social transformation on the Nile. The nature of these changes were determined by theological conflict reinforced by the administrative opportunities of the prefect and Bishop Cyrus, the presence of the Sassanids in 619–629 and the withdrawal of Byzantine administration following negotiations with ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs's occupation force. The transformation process evolved over a fairly long time, taking on a different intensity in the various aspects of social functioning, such as communication (language), religion, culture, administration and economy. However, the source basis for analyzing these processes in 7th century Egypt is rather modest.[1]

The archaeological evidence coming from the monastic site of Nekloni in southeastern Fayum supplements the view deriving from the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu[2] and either substantiates or rejects the much later Coptic and Arab sources. Together with the Greek texts discovered in the excavations at Naqlun[3], the archaeological data helps to reconstruct the course of events and their impact on the monastic community in Nekloni. The monastery was admittedly a fairly isolated place, but the reconstruction is still useful in understanding the social reaction to events taking place in the middle of the 7th century.

The Nekloni monastery in the first half of the 7th century was a middle-sized community by Egyptian standards, comprising some 80 hermitages cut into the rocks of the hills around Naqlun (fig. 1, p. 223). The hermitages were scattered around a fairly modest architectural compound built on the rock plateau at the foot of the *gebel*. Near this hermitage A, about a kilometer to the west, there was a cemetery counting about 200 tombs, dating from the end of the 5th through the early 7th century. The ordinary people from the oasis were buried there, their ties to the hermits inhabiting the Naqlun hills is evident, even if unknown. They

1 BUTLER, Alfred J., *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford, 21978 (ed. by P.M. Fraser); KAEGI, Walter E., "Egypt on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest", in C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt 1: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 34–61; SIJPESTEIJN, Petra M., "The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Beginning of Muslim Rule", in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 437–455; HOWARD-JOHNSTON, James, "The Great Powers on the Eve of the Islamic Conquests", in Ch.J. Robin / J. Schiettecattie (eds.), *Les preludes de l'Islam*. Orient et Méditerranée 11, Paris, 2013, p. 37–56.

2 CHARLES, Robert H., *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, London – Oxford, 1916 (repr. Amsterdam, 1986); JARRY, Jacques, "La conquête du Fayoum par les musulmans d'apres le Futūḥ al-Bahnasā", *Annales Islamologiques* 9, 1970, p. 9–19.

3 DERDA, Tomasz, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri* I, Warsaw, 1995; idem, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri* II, Warsaw, 2008.

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could have been familial or religious.[4] A bishop also resided for some time in the Nekloni monastery, his presence attested by the correspondence addressed to him.[5]

It is not known who founded this monastic community, but the hermits were evidently popular with the local folk and they made up one of the apparently biggest monastic communities in the Fayum. No contemporary literary record of it survives, however. The appearance of the monastery is reconstructed based on archaeological grounds, including a rich assemblage of Greek and Coptic texts from the monastery rubbish dumps (site B) and from the fill of bins inside the rock-cut hermitages. The bins seem to have been filled during a rebuilding of the hermitages, which took place most probably in the second half of the 7th century.

European and American archives contain a number of texts, in Coptic and Arabic, but mostly from the 10th–11th century. These appear to have originated from Naqlun, some of them have already been identified as such. The most important of these sources is the *Coptic Account Book* from the British Library (No. 13885); a leaf from this codex was found in the fill of Building G in Naqlun.[6]

The picture that emerges of the residents of Nekloni based on a study of Greek texts discovered at Naqlun[7] is that of a group deriving for the most part from the Hellenized society of the region. This is indicated by the superior number of texts written in Greek originating from early contexts dated from the mid 5th to the 7th century. Phibamo from hermitage EE.44 wrote his magic texts in Coptic, but that merely suggests who his clientele was. Greek texts on vessels from inside the hermitage attest to his knowledge of Greek, which in itself was hardly anything surprising in the Fayum Oasis.

The textual evidence coming from the fill of the rock-cut bins in hermitages EE.89 and EE 25.C is extremely interesting (fig. 2–3). The two were located next to one another and were inhabited in the early 6th century. These texts, written exclusively in Greek, were connected with the spiritual as well as temporal side of the hermit's life. Various psalm notations, their selection and set hours for their reciting (singing) fit in perfectly with the historical records of their popularity and importance in the spiritual life of the hermits.[8] Texts of an economic nature from hermitage EE.89 testified to the affluence of the monks, presumably reflecting the wealth of their family surroundings.[9] The hermitage "architecture": spaciousness and professional finishing, as well as glass and pottery table sets, and the habit of having a store of blank papyrus sheets, all reflect a certain level of developed intellectual and social needs. The monks' dietary habits, not entirely perceptible

4 GODLEWSKI, Włodzimierz, *Naqlun. Ancient Nekloni. Archaeological Guide*, Warsaw, 2018.

5 DERDA, *Naqlun: Greek Papyri* II, p. 159–165.

6 VAN DER VLIET, Jacques, "Nekloni (al-Naqlun) and the Coptic accounts book British Library Or.13885", in A. Kaplony / D. Potthast / C. Römer (eds.), *From Bāwīṭ to Marw: Documents from the medieval Muslim world*, Leiden – Boston, 2015, p. 155–169.

7 DERDA, Tomasz / WEGNER, Joanna, "Pateres tou agiou Nekloniou. Functionaries of the Naqlun monastery in the first two centuries of its existence", in A. Lajtar / A. Obłuski / I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Warsaw, 2016, p. 73–98.

8 DERDA, *Naqlun: Greek Papyri* I, p. 57–96.

9 DERDA, *Naqlun: Greek Papyri* II, p. 87–121.

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in the archaeological record but encompassing dairy products, fish, eggs, fruits and vegetables, included wine consumption in place of the proverbial water[10].

Hermitages were privately owned and they appear to repeat certain functional elements. There is no textual evidence of this from Naqlun, but the texts from Labla[11] may reflect such legal ownership status of the hermitages there, which seem to be located with respect to one another in a manner resembling Nekloni topography.

The 6th century texts from hermitage 89 at Naqlun also appear to signify community arrangements that reflect the spatial layout of the site: a central hermitage A and individual hermitages cut into the slope of Naqlun hills over a relatively extensive area. At the close of the 6th century EE.89 was inhabited by Neilos, who had his own oratory in the hermitage, but who also functioned in hermitage A, presumably as the superior or rather guiding father of the Nekloni hermits.[12] The hermitage on the plateau presumably included a church (chapel?) of St Phoibammon on the upper floor of tower A and a central assembly hall for the hermits (AA.31), combined with rooms for guests to the monastery, located in Building J (fig. 4). The Life of Samuel describes the functioning of the Nekloni monastery in such terms[13], but so far the available textual evidence does not suggest a more precise form of organization of the monastic community. A letter from the residents of Tebetny[14] to the monastic community of Nekloni is addressed to the presbyter Agathes and the deacons; it was found on site B, which was the rubbish dump of hermitage A where the church gathering these members of the clergy stood. The suggestion is that they served an auxiliary role with regard to the community of people living presumably in the buildings of hermitage A and remaining in direct contact with the monks in the hermitages and the *pistoi*, assuming the latter are there already as suggested by the *Life of Samuel*. The presence of 200 *pistoi* in the 630s seems a little bit farfetched, however. The clergy is connected with the church, but apart from the weekly liturgy it does not seem to have a coordinating role in the functioning of the community.

Was there religious uniformity among the estimated 120 people who lived in Nekloni in the 630s? Or did the individual nature of life in the monastic community make room for a more ecumenical approach without the strong divisions that tore through the social fabric of Egypt at the time? Again the textual evidence is lacking in this respect and we may only suggest that being far from Alexandria, the Nekloni community may have been shaped more by regional customs. This is what the texts from Labla would suggest, the Melitians living there causing no conflict. Also the *Life of Samuel*[15] demonstrates with regard to the dispute between the Chalcedonians and the Monophysites that the presence of Samuel and

10 DZIERZBICKA, Dorota, “Wine consumption and usage in Egypt’s monastic communities (6th – 8th century)”, in A. Lajtar / A. Obłuski / I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Warsaw, 2016, p. 99–112.

11 MCGING, Brian C.M., “Melitian Monks in Labla”, *Tyche* 5, 1990, p. 67–94.

12 DERDA, *Naqlun: Greek Papyri* II, p. 97.

13 ALCOCK, Anthony, *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the presbyter*, Warminster, 1983, p. 82.

14 DERDA, Tomasz / WEGNER, Joanna, “Letter from Tebetny to the monks of Naqlun concerning fieldwork (P. Naqlun 39)”, in J. L. Fournet / A. Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jacques Gascou. Textes et études papyrologiques*. Travaux et Mémoires 20/1, Paris, 2016, p. 133–150.

15 ALCOCK, *Life of Samuel*, p. 82–83.

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his companions (monastic brothers), clearly Monophysites, in Naqlun for a period of time was not a disturbance for the regular functioning of the monastic community there. No further textual evidence from Naqlun is available. One may assume, however, on the grounds of these texts that life at Naqlun was not marred by religious controversy.

Disputes started with Cyrus's visit to the Fayum. The *Life of Samuel* tells us that while visiting Naqlun Cyrus encountered only one elderly monk, who told him that no other monks were present there.[16] Assuming that the bishop was received in the assembly hall in hermitage A (room AA.30), we cannot know whether the monks had left the monastery entirely or simply stayed in their hermitages in the hills, which is the more likely solution. The conclusion that Cyrus reached was that it was a demonstration, the monks doing so on account of Samuel, who was a figure of authority for them. Apart from the sufferings of Samuel that followed, which are described in his *Life*, one consequence of the events that took place in Nekloni and the Fayum was that Samuel and his followers (read: Monophysites) left the monastery. How many? Perhaps only Samuel's companions, who had come there with him in the first place, perhaps more. The monks who remained at Nekloni were already Chalcedonians or accepted it, declaring submission to Cyrus. Thus, we know that in the end of the 630s the Nekloni monastic community was on the whole positive toward Cyrus and the Byzantine order in Egypt. Fragments of the Chalcedonian Constantinopolitanian creed preserved in hermitage EE.02 room C stands in confirmation to some extent.[17]

According to John of Nikiu, in 641 ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs with his soldiers massacred the population of Behnasa and plundered extensively, causing great fear. The situation was made even worse by the brutal treatment of the Byzantine army, which acted with little effectiveness in the eastern part of the Fayum, that is, in the area of the Nekloni community.[18] There are no written sources to explicate the fate of the community in this instance. The archaeological evidence, however, is quite interesting. There is proof of destruction in hermitage A and changes in the furnishing and operation of the Eastern hermitages. We shall come back to this issue below. The dating of these events in the archaeological record is circumstantial, but fairly precise, being based on Greek texts surviving in the fill of the storage bins inside the hermitages, as well as the pottery found in these bins.

The dating of the destruction in hermitage A is also of relevance here (figs. 4–5). The southeastern corner of building AA.30 seems to have been removed in order to penetrate the staircase that led up to first floor of AA.30 and indirectly to the monastery tower in building A. The assumption is that there was no regular entrance and that the building was deserted, while those breaking in were expecting to find objects worthy of looting, left there by the fleeing residents. The hermitages in the hills may have been treated in similar manner, although there the eroded facades with the doors leave little evidence of forced entry. The only evidence is the changes introduced after the hermitages were settled again

16 ALCOCK, *Life of Samuel*, p. 84.
17 DERDA, *Naqlun: Greek Papyri* II, p. 63–65.
18 SIJPESTEIJN, in Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World*, p. 439–444. JARRY, *Annales Islamologiques* 9, 1970, p. 9–19.

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and the Greek texts as well as pottery from the storage bins, which is no later than the first half of the 7th century.

The restoration of AA.30 and Building J and their development, combined with a reoccupation of the eastern hermitages, support a few suggestions concerning events that took place in Nekloni during the stormy 640s:

– The monastic complex at Nekloni seems to have been deserted in some panic. The monks may have left behind most of their belongings.
– The abandoned settlement was penetrated intensively and plundered, forced entry was made into the buildings of hermitage A on the plateau and into the eastern hermitages. The lids of the storage bins were broken in search of food and valuables.
– The plunder took place quickly and forcibly; obviously, the perpetrators had no intention of staying longer than necessary.
– It is not clear what happened to the monks. The Behnasa incident may have caused them not only to leave the hermitages, but also to flee to safe haven either in the desert or to the north of the Fayum. A much more numerous group of Fayum inhabitants may have fled their homes as a result of what was happening.
– The Nekloni monastery remained empty for a time. Most likely the monks were aware that their property had been plundered and that society in the region had been devastated.
– This situation may have lasted for a few years, but not too long. The rubbish dump on Site B does not show any longer lasting hiatus. It remained in continuous use until the middle of the 10th century, even considering that the late layers here were partly leveled when constructing Building B on the ground surface here, probably sometime in the second half of the 10th century, although the date is uncertain.
– Resettlement of the monastic community was tied in with extensive building and reconstruction: hermitage A was enlarged and rebuilt, while the eastern hermitages were cleaned up; debris was cleared away into the storage bins and the ground surfaces covered with a new mud floor that sealed the bins.
– There are changes also in the functioning of the monastery, best observed in the adaptation of Building J (fig. 5). Entries to the living units from the north were blocked with masonry. The new interiors were accessible from the south, from a much higher level. Extensive new architecture appeared to the south of this complex (it was heavily destroyed much later by the construction of the enclosure wall around the medieval monastery of Aur).
– The quality of the rebuilding in Buildings AA and J is essentially low.
– A change is also evident in the commonness of Greek in the community, which is now replaced more and more by Coptic. Scraps of papyri with Arabic writing appear in the context of rubbish on Site B.

Finally and not the least in this context: broken funerary steles, exclusively with Greek texts on them, are used as building material in the restored Buildings AA and J.[19] Their number, at least 30 in all, leads one to think that they came from the nearby Cemetery C; if so, it would mean that the cemetery had been devastated. By whom? Perhaps the Arab raiders,

19 GODLEWSKI, Wlodzimierz / ŁAJTAR, Adam, "Grave stelae from Deir el-Naqlun", *JJP* 36, 2006, p. 43–62.

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but even so, the complete lack of respect, at least from our point of view, for the dead buried in this cemetery, who must have somehow been connected with the monks, is surprising. There is absolutely no evidence of tomb markers anywhere in this fairly large cemetery, although in truth, the rock surface here is heavily eroded. In the Church of Archangel Gabriel there are many sandstone blocks used in the structure and decoration of the side walls and the lower parts of the walls in the apse and the arcades connecting the apse with the naos. The Church of the Archangel Gabriel is mostly of mud brick; hence, the capitals and bases of the engaged columns, as well as the structural blocks, must have come in all likelihood from the superstructures of the tombs in Cemetery C. Thus, the decorated blocks can be dated to the turn of the 5th century through the 7th century AD.

Conclusion

The archaeological evidence from Naqlun supplements modest written sources to reconstruct the political events and social transformation taking place in the Fayum in the middle of the 7th century, and extremely difficult and fascinating time to understand from a historical point of view. The following sequence of events can be put forward, naturally for a territorially restricted area. In the 630s, the hermits from Nekloni were subjected to ideological pressure and were forced to take sides, that is, to come out on the side of the movement supported by the Byzantine administration, which must have been fairly common in the Fayum at the time. After all, Fayum society was strongly Hellenized. The brutality of the Arab raiders with regard to this society, which personified the Byzantine way of life, is also more easily explained in political terms.

Without the protection of the Byzantine armies, the panicking monks must have fled Naqlun and did not come back at once, possibly because of continuous unrest. The deserted monastery was peopled again by Monophysite monks, who restored the architecture as best as they could, but the low technical level of this work is evident. The organization of the monastic community changed as a result, the monks forming a more close-knit group resembling a coenobitic community interested more in economic self-sufficiency, which is understandable in a changed social and political reality. The disappearance of Greek texts from both the hermitages and the upper layers of the rubbish dump indicates significant cultural change. Coptic became the principal language of internal and external communication. Cemetery C was used no longer and the salvaged stone, including broken Greek tombstones, used in the new monastery buildings in hermitage A, that is, the complex of rooms AA.40–50 and the southern part of Building J.

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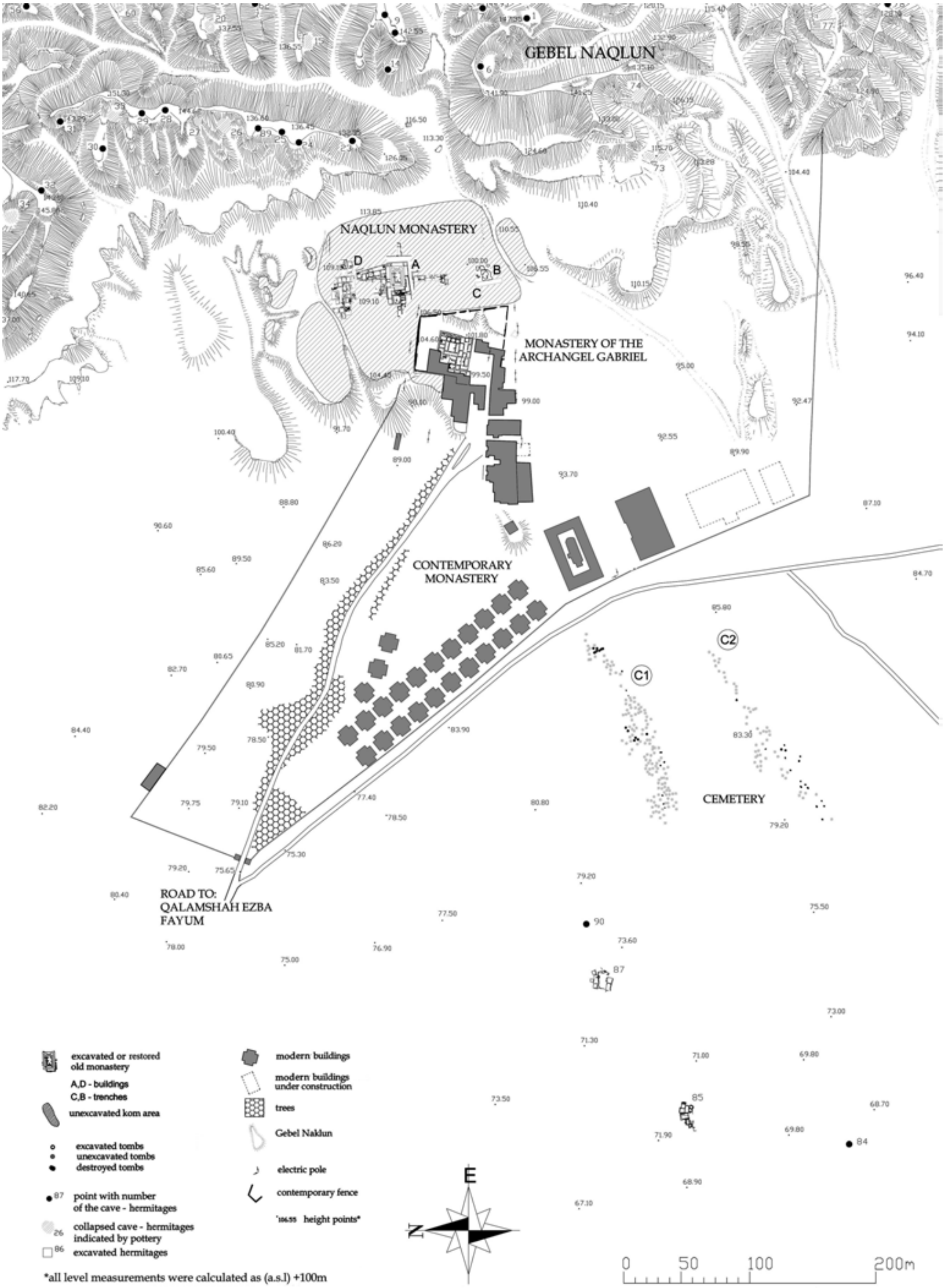


Fig. 1: Naqlun, map with remains of old monastery and new building (PCMA archive, W. Małkowski)

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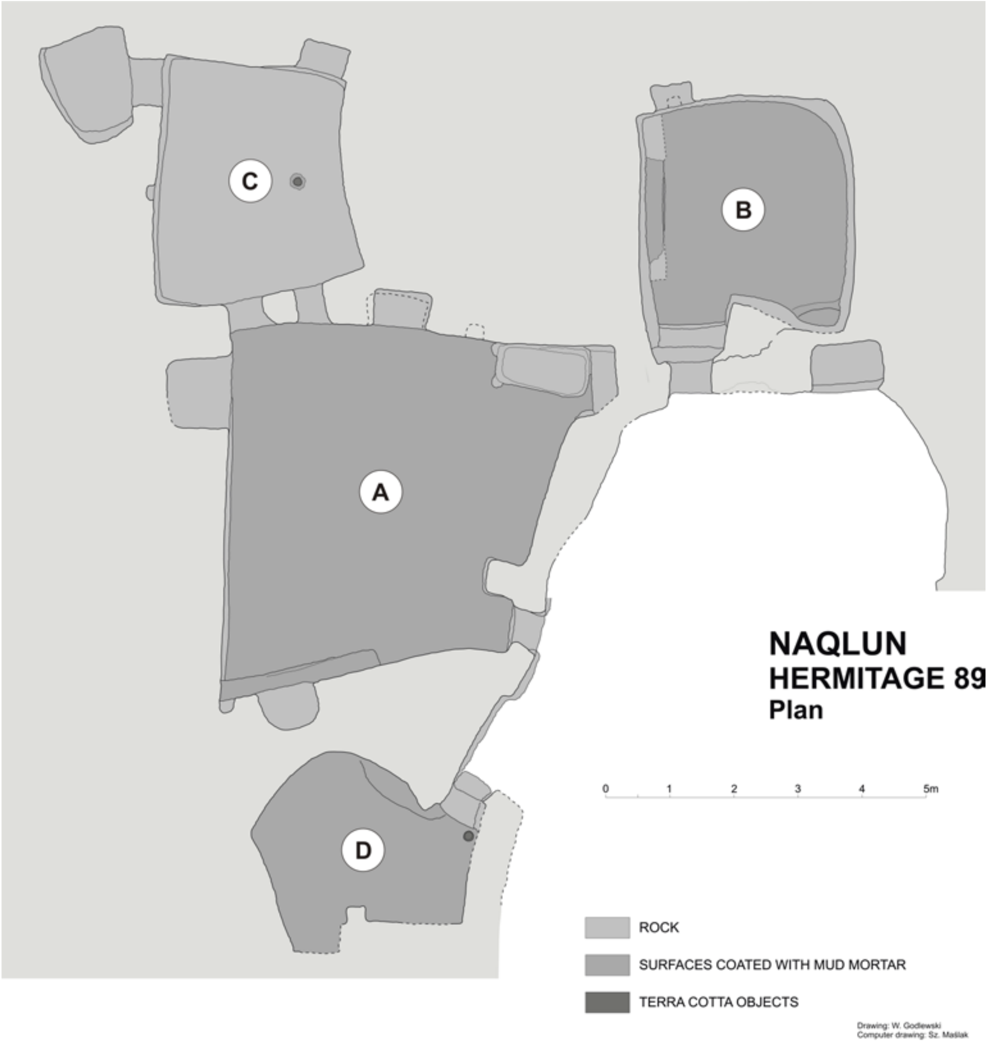


Fig. 2: Naqlun. Plan of Hermitage EE.89 (PCMA archive, W. Godlewski & S. Maslak)

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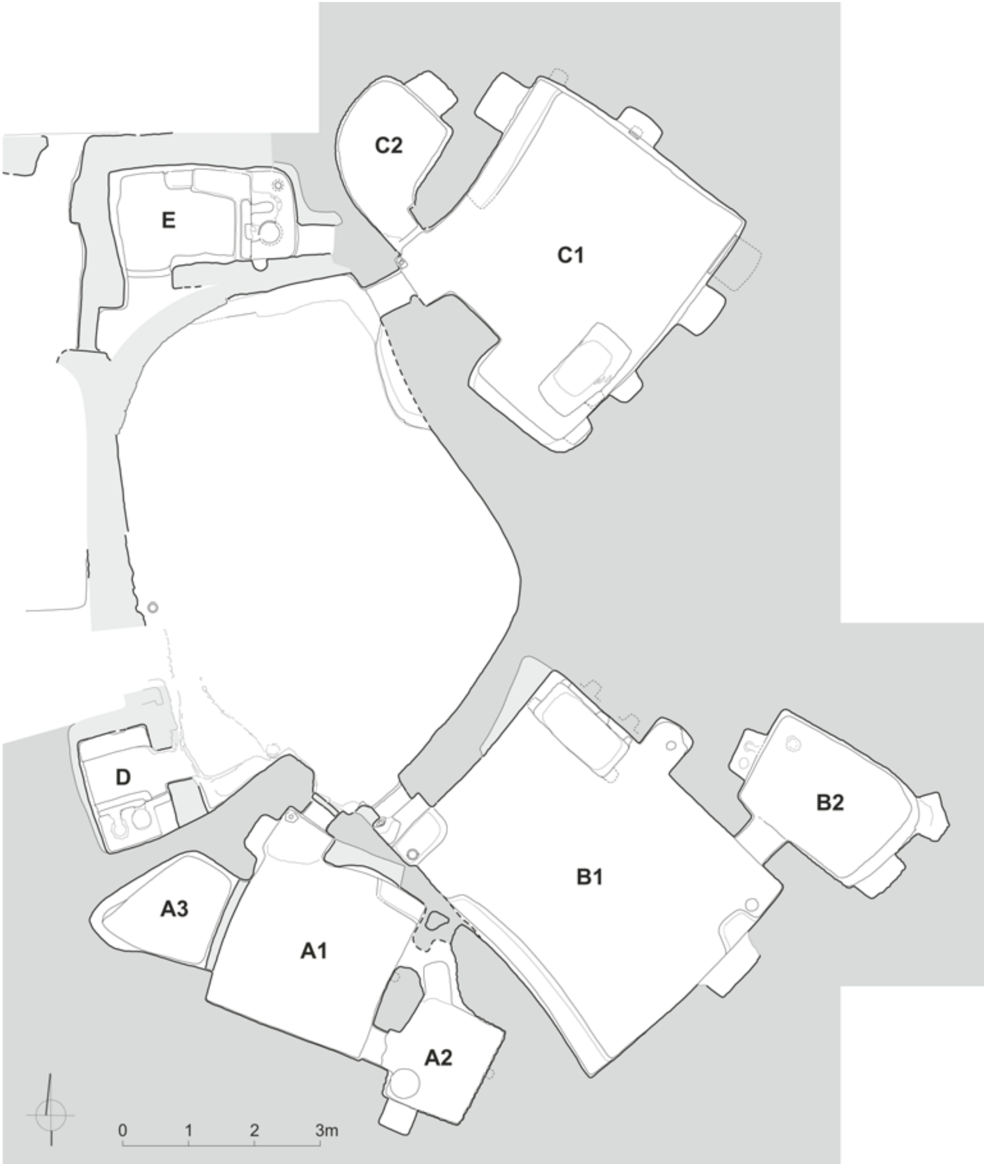


Fig. 3: Naqlun. Plan of Hermitage EE.25 (PCMA archive, J. Dobrowolski & S. Maslak)

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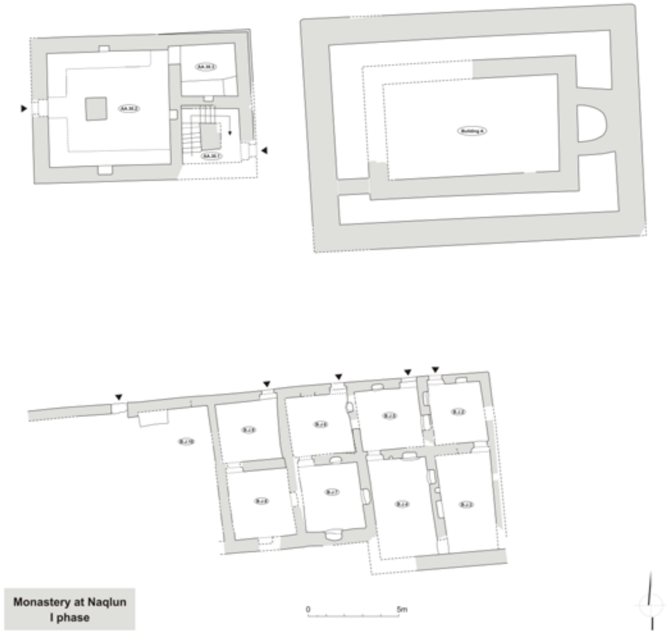


Fig. 4: Naqlun. Plan of Hermitage A.*1* (PCMA archive, W. Godlewski & S. Maslak)

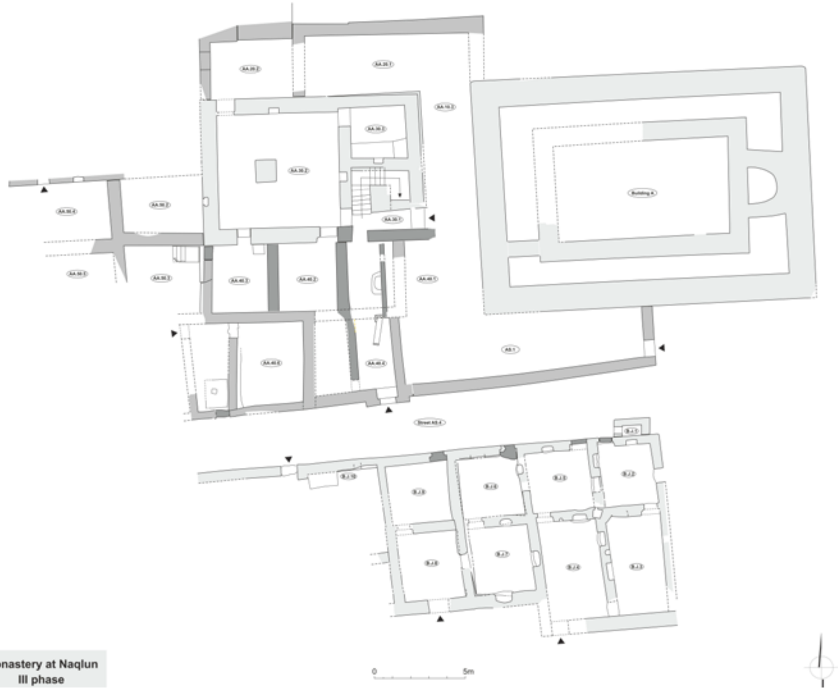


Fig. 5: Naqlun. Plan of Hermitage *A.2* (PCMA archive, W. Godlewski & S. Maslak)

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